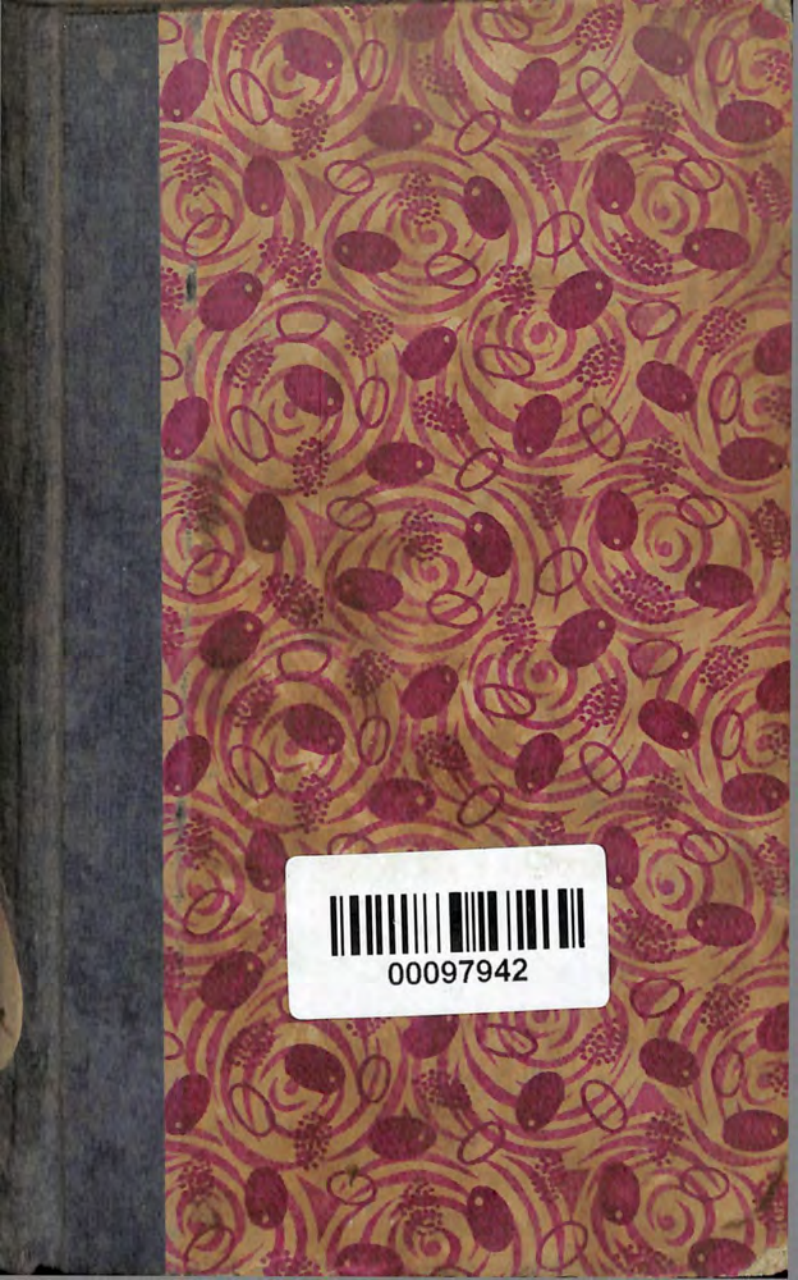
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# IRELAND

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# ITS RULERS:

SINCE 1829.

PART THE FIRST.

9.7942 a

SECOND EDITION.

By

" ——sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere——"

TACITUS.

D. O'Neill Madden

LONDON:
T. C. NEWBY, 65, MORTIMER ST., CAVENDISH SQ

1844.

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# PREFACE

TO THE

## SECOND EDITION.

To present a graphic but faithful portrait of the Irish *political public* as it has existed for the last fourteen years—has been the object of the Author of this work. More favourably circumstanced than most persons for seeing society in Ireland, as it exists in the "two nations," he has wished, for the sake of public utility, to record the observations and reflections which have occurred to him as a (partly) secluded though deeply interested

observer ef the agitated people of that most anomalous of countries, Acquainted with the most opposite extremes of society, and having kinsmen in each of the contending factions—habituated from his youth to mingle in the friendliest intercourse with parties professing violent hatred and social antipathy to each other—his own prejudices have been exposed to constant attrition, and although with decided predilections, he finds himself, more than most Irishmen, on good terms, and in the enjoyment of many common sympathies, with each of the contending parties, into which Irish society is divided.

He makes no pretension to the discovery of new facts, and candidly confesses that he is not prepossessed with the notion, that any particular measures he may recommend will have the effect of terminating that state of uncertainty and suffering, in which Ireland is now plunged. To borrow a medical term, a political *diagnosis* of Ireland has been the main object of the writer, who has for the present been chiefly concerned to pour-

tray the actual state of things, and carefully to note its symptoms. He believes that a true picture of the *political public* of Ireland has been hitherto a desideratum to many Englishmen, who by their political station, or social influence, are called upon to form an opinion as to the best mode of governing the sister country.

The disparaging tone, which has been adopted by one class of writers on Ireland, and the exaggeration pervading the statements of another school of thinkers, induce the present writer to publish his observations on the state of political society in his native land. He can honestly declare that he has fearlessly written what he deemed to be the truth, and that he has faithfully endeavoured to pourtray the feelings actually existent in different classes of Irish society. Much there is in his work, which will be displeasing to the zealots of both sides—many also of his observations cannot be palatable to those mere party politicians, whether Conservative or Whig, who distort facts for their own

particular purposes, and withhold their approbation from any author, who is concerned rather to set forth the whole of the truth, than to make an ingenious and one sided statement, for the purpose of the blinded partizan, or the reckless advocate of factious politics.

Although he disclaims the pretension of discovering absolutely new facts in Irish Society, he believes that he has looked upon Ireland from a novel point of view. Impartial Englishmen have written upon Ireland, so also have impartial foreigners, but it would be difficult to point to any work on that country from the pen of an impartial *Irishman.* Undoubtedly there have been some few Irish authors, who *affected* that philosophical indifference, which Locke has so much extolled. But their works have indicated, what their private history revealed, that they were the *employèes* of particular sections of the political community. The Author of this work can with truth declare, that his sole purpose has been to furnish the English

public, with a critical view of Irish faction —Irish politics— and Irish Rulers (whether popular or Imperial) as they have existed since 1829, In order to set forth the actual state of things, he has been obliged occasionally to describe local contests that have come under his immediate cognizance.

In the present edition some passages have been re-written, and one or two expunged, as they had actually led to misapprehension of the writer's purpose. He has also corrected some unimportant misstatements of facts concerning the General Election of 1832. He deems it right to add that the last chapter of the work was written in August, before the agitation had taken so threatening an aspect, as it afterwards assumed. But he takes this opportunity of stating, that nothing that has occurred in the last two months, induces him to think that arbitrary conduct on the part of the Government in an early stage of the agitation, would have been judicious or statesmanlike.

Brussells, December 8th, 1843.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE TWO IRISH NATIONS UPPER AND LOWER.

"Nation is a moral essence, not a geographical arrangement, or denomination of the nomenclator."

BURKE.

IN conversing with an accomplished friend of mine in Ireland, M. de Tocqueville observed to him "All your evils spring from this—*you are two nations here.*" There is deep truth in that remark. Protestant Ireland represents a totally different idea from Catholic Ireland; even to this day, the Anglo-Irish race preserves characteristics distinct from the great mass of the Celtic population. But the Protestants of Ireland also differ essentially from their English brethren in Britain. They form a new kind of

Irish people. They are rich in Saxon self-reliance, and they are also endowed with Celtic sensibility and ardour. Their character was formed in the eighteenth century, when Ireland possessed an Aristocracy, partly resident, and a Legislature. Their blood is nearly as hot as that of the Catholics. The Anglo-Irish have imbibed far more of the national character of Ireland, than they have imparted of their hereditary English qualities. For matters purely intellectual they are as Celtic as if they had not a drop of British blood. Exclusive institutions have alone preserved them from being completely merged in the national character of Ireland.

Nothing is more amusing than to observe in a Dublin drawing room all the characteristics of the country displayed by those who are ludicrously endeavouring to impart an English style to their manners and mode of looking at life. First the young Tory barrister, abusing the people with genuine Irish fervour—his political vituperation sparkling with gaudy epigrams, and his conversational eloquence ornamented with a profusion of broken metaphors. Then the comical Protestant bigot, so full of fun about the Priests, jibing the Whigs with his

Irish humour, and ridiculing Paddy as none but a Paddy could do; then two or three Dublin loungers, vainly seeking to mimic English ease, attaining with considerable difficulty a nervous stiffness and sulky gravity that they suppose to be "the proper thing,"—And then the ladies, with their mercurial countenances, with their sweet mincing brogues, their Irish drollery, and pretty little fierce antipathies, and their fervent likings, and exaggerated enthusiasm for their favourite preacher,—"Oh! he's *such* a nice man—now *do*, I beg of you—I intreat you'll go to hear him. Oh! he's the sweetest preacher I ever heard." Yes! and the *old* ladies, puffed up with ridiculous Irish pride!—the cousins of Grafton Street grocers, and grand daughters of Sackville Street haberdashers, as pompous as if they were the offspring of Spanish grandees!

The distinctiveness of "the two nations" in Ireland, so far as individual character and manners are concerned, could only be perceived by an eye accustomed to observe, and could be properly set forth, only in works of fiction aiming to depict dramatically life in Ireland. Griffin's novels are full of the nice shadings that separate the personal characters of the

" two nations," but with relation to the standard of English style and taste, the Irish Protestant and the Irish Catholic exhibit the same mental peculiarities. In politics, however, there are essentially two nations in Ireland, and the recollections of each, with its hopes and fears for the future, preserve an unfortunate breach between persons who are otherwise well fitted for assimilation. Think how differently the name of " Derry" is received in Ulster and Munster. The battle of the Boyne—the Treaty of Limerick—" '98" " 1829"—wake feelings in each of the Irish Nations as dissimilar as if each people were living under opposite zones, and at different eras of the world.

One nation is socially proud because it has all the landed property of the country ; the other is self-confident because it possesses the great mass of the population. One has nearly all the constituted authorities ; the other has " the people" to back its pretensions. The aristocracy of Ireland has one, and the democracy another series of traditions. One chafes with pride ; the other sighs with grief, as it looks back to its ancestors. " Keep down," is the resolve of one ; " Drag down," the determination of the other. In quiet times, the upper nation despises the

character of the lower, which returns the contempt with an intense hatred. At heart they are afraid each of the other, but of course they would not pretend so for worlds! Oh! not they, forsooth! "they do not dread them at all." Afraid, indeed! It is ludicrous beyond description to read and listen to the bravados of the braggarts of both sides. Yet at Exeter Hall, while Lord Melbourne's Ministry was in power, awful was the description of the dangers not merely spiritual but physical, to be apprehended from the Irish Papists, and, on the other hand, at the Repeal Association, the changes were rung upon "the savage yeomanry of the north"—"the fell Orange Landlords," &c. In fact, the upper and lower nations of Ireland alternately used the *argumentum ad misericordiam* in entreating England to eject or retain the Melbourne Ministry.

The simple truth is, that the upper and lower nations of Ireland are heartily afraid, each of the other. They are much more nearly matched than superficial observers suppose. No mistake can be greater than to think that mere numbers determine a civil war. They do not determine wars between nations, why should they give success in struggles between factions? Napoleon

said that the " moral was to the physical force in war as three parts out of four." The upper nation in Ireland has far more durable motives, to keep up a bloody and obstinate contest than its opponent. It has to fight for its very physical existence, for its property—its religion. If the lower nation were vanquished, its fate would be not much worse than it had previously undergone ; but if the upper were defeated, Heaven help it ! The leaders and writers of the Repeal Party continually brag of what France and America will do for them, but the writers of the Tory side retort by boasting that the entire might of England will be put forward in *their* cause. Calm-thinking persons doubt the readiness of Jonathan to enter into a war for Ireland. They suspect that his hatred to England is ridiculously exaggerated, and ask why he did not help the Canadians ? As for France, England beat her before, and the British army will be more likely to find another Wellington, than the French a Napoleon.

It is, certainly, a great pity that the two nations in Ireland are not fused into one. Their union would produce a far finer people than either of the Irish nations is at present. The

gloomy melancholy, the mental languor of the lower nation would gradually give way to a more energetic and resolute habit of mind. The upper would cease to scoff at its rival countrymen, and imbibe a more generous and catholic spirit of nationality. To bring about so desirable a consummation, no means should be left untried for making men of each party mingle together in general society. Friendly alliances should be promoted between persons of opposite religions. From the spirit of mere bigotry, mixed marriages are condemned in Ireland. All efforts should be had recourse to, for *bridging over* the chasm which keeps the two Irish nations asunder. Mitigate the pride of the Protestant, and extend the ambition of the Catholic.

How few houses there are in Ireland, where guests of opposite politics are entertained. Even in the Metropolis, every dinner party is Conservative, or Popular. The persons responsible for this petty and disgusting social bigotry are those of the upper nation. It is *they* should commence with liberal examples. Wo to an aristocracy which lets itself be taught humanity and courtesy by a democracy! The Tory Protestants generally treat all Catholics

and Liberals alike. They tacitly determine not to mix with them. A member of the Bar who received high office under Sir Robert Peel was notorious for rigidly excluding Catholics from his table. Was he a man of high birth? Not at all, he was of plebeian Protestant extraction. So lamentable are the effects of this odious policy, that I cannot help thinking those who open their houses to both sides, display far more genuine patriotism than many of the brawlers who struggle for shadowy schemes of Irish regeneration. The true way to regenerate Ireland is to create a formidable public, which should spring from a fusion of men of both parties. Two publics in a country are as bad as having no public at all. While the moral and physical forces are at war with each other in Ireland, the statesman can never calculate, as in England, on having his measures supported by opinion. There is no common standard in Irish politics to which both parties appeal. Hence the opinions of the wealthy, and the agitation of the lower classes have no reciprocal influence on each other.

*An independent Irish public with self sustaining power would effect more good in that country than any positive institution whatever.* The ex-

hibition of moral courage in politics, and the encrease of the middle classes, will gradually build up an Irish public, whose influence will affect the conduct of the Aristocracy, and check the licentiousness of agitation. " There is nothing like speaking out," said Mr. E. B. Roche in the debate on Mr. Smith OBrien's motion; and frankness is the quality most deficient in Irish politicians. Violence and sincerity are associated together in the popular mind, and that servility towards the loudest and most numerous party, which disgraces the educated classes in America, unhappily prevails to a considerable extent in Ireland. There is no rule without an exception, and the Irishman is courageous in every thing except in the avowal of *his own* political opinions. This remark affects equally the Tories and Repealers. Who that has mixed in Irish society has not met with many nominal Conservatives, who if they did justice to *their own* opinions would have zealously supported the administration of Lord Mulgrave? And, on the other hand, every one has met vociferous Repealers who at heart were liberal Whigs. Many landlords and persons of consideration absented themselves from Lord Mulgrave's Court, because they

were afraid of their order, and how many have *called* themselves repealers merely to avoid denunciation and abuse!

This want of moral courage in politics springs not from deficiency in integrity or resolution, but rather from the absence of deliberation. In Irish politics no three men have in these days obtained more moral respect than Mr. Sharman Crawford, the late Chief Baron Woulfe, and Mr. Wyse, each of whom *formed, avowed,* and *acted* upon his principles.

There can be no true public in Ireland until independence and earnestness are sought after in her public men more than fanaticism or eloquence. Surely honest deliberation, even though it may not coincide with the fanaticism of the ultra-Protestants, who hate Catholicity, or with the vehemence of "a monster meeting" is more worthy of respect than hypocritical conformity, or a tame and sneaking submission to popular dictation?

A good race of public men working in conjunction, with a stable middle class, will go far to create a public. Extending the British Constitution to Ireland is the only means of affording to the "Two Irish Nations" a common standard of right and wrong.

# CHAPTER II.

## O'CONNELL'S EARLY CAREER.

"Never was any man more flattered, or more abused, and his long power was, probably, the cause of both. I mean to do impartial justice to his character, and, therefore, my picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him."

CHESTERFIELD, on Sir R. Walpole.

THE rapidity with which some persons make up their minds about O'Connell's real character is very amusing.

Some of his enemies decry him as a vulgar mountebank, and others exaggerate him as Irish impersonation of Evil.

Some of his friends laud him as the most disinterested of patriots, and others discriminate between his undeniable attachment to his

country, and his provident regard to Number One.

He is a saint and a miscreant—a coward and a hero—a ranter, and a genius—a trafficking demagogue, and a mighty statesman—a base hypocrite, and an honest politician, all according to the prejudices of those who pronounce judgment on him.

There are none make greater mistakes on O'Connell's character than literary men. They do not appreciate even his intellectual powers.

In the literary world he is considered as a burning mountain of commonplace—a kind of *Potato Vesuvius!*

There are many points in O'Connell's character, that prevent a refined age from understanding him. He has often laboured so hard to degrade himself to a level with Henry Hunt and other ordinary demagogues, that the mistakes formed by the English public are not surprising. But these points of character must not be permitted to interfere with a fair judgment of the man. It is very difficult to separate O'Connell from the circumstances in which he was born, and the state of the country in which he has passed his life. Let us glance at the salient features of his career.

He was born in the wilds of Kerry in 1775. His father was (for those days) a wealthy Catholic; his family, though making great pretensions to antiquity, had never been eminent in Irish history. Young Daniel was sent to St. Omers, to obtain a University education; it was not, as might be supposed, a place likely to expand the mind, or fill it with inspiring ideas, but some good professors were there, and pupils of no despicable attainments in classical learning, had often left its walls. At that time the French Revolution had fixed the attention of all mankind. It had not then reached its full height, but it had shown its hatred to Priestcraft, and its aversion to religious sentiment. Young O'Connell was an ardent Catholic. He had been born and bred in a land where his religious creed was persecuted, and where, therefore, it was doubly endeared to its professors. To an Irish Catholic the only choice lay between the religion of the Church of Rome and that of the Church of England. Scepticism in all its forms, from the scoff of levity to intellectual unbelief, was not likely to find favour with an Irish Catholic in those times. Religion was to him what Poetry was to Goldsmith.

> "Dear charming nymph, neglected and decried,
> My shame in crowds---my solitary pride.
> Thou source of all my bliss and all my woe."

He lived in his religion, which to him was an intense reality. He had no doubts about any part of it. If the Almighty had, from Sinai's mount, proclaimed in voice of thunder "The Roman Catholic Church is the true and only Faith; believe Transubstantiation, and invoke the Saints—go to Confession and believe that the priests have power to absolve you from my displeasure," the Irish Catholic could not have more strongly believed in the church of his fathers, than he did at the close of the eighteenth century, when Protestant power sought to obliterate his faith and extirpate his race.

Young O'Connell was not seduced by the Revolution of France, which he regarded as a blasphemous eruption in the face of God. He left France a little after the cruel and needless execution of Louis the Sixteenth. He crossed the channel on his return homeward in company with a young Corkman, who was a zealous propagandist of levelling principles, and who enthusiastically dilated on the glories of French freedom. O'Connell had, from the first, little sympathy with his fellow traveller,

who was so violent in the cause of the Rights of Man, but he did not feel thoroughly disgusted, until his companion (who had many noble, gallant, and amiable traits of character) taking a bloody handkerchief from his pocket, exultingly boasted that he had dipped it in the blood of the French King. In five years afterwards the young enthusiast was himself executed for his principles. He was John, the youngest of the unfortunate brothers, Sheares.*

He was called to the bar in 1798. He made his first *entrée* into public life on the question of the Union being discussed. The Catholics were promised emancipation on condition they

* The Sheares family had a large share of talent and original character. The father of those young men was a benevolent and accomplished gentleman. He belonged to the Cork merchants, who in the last century were a very superior body, as commerce was carried on at that time in Ireland on different principles from those by which it is now supported. A sister of the unfortunate brothers cherished their violent principles, and was herself a very extraordinary person. She exulted in giving the toast---"May we never want a SHEARS to clip the wings of a tyrant." She was (such is nature's eccentricity) the mother of a fierce and most violent politician, who was an Orangeman---a rich parson---and was agent to three or four Tory landlords! Many of the descendants of the United Irishmen are ultra-Tories in politics.

supported the Union, and many of them did so, as there was not in those days the remotest chance of an Irish parliament conceding to them civil privileges of a large nature. O'Connell, however, zealously opposed the Union, and publicly declared that he preferred an Irish Parliament, and the chance of emancipation to an English Legislature with the certainty of religious liberty. This declaration, when taken into account with his subsequent career, is certainly very remarkable. His maiden speech is still preserved, but beyond that declaration there is no particular object for notice in its matter.

His success at the Bar was very rapid. He soon became *the* rising young Catholic lawyer. His practice at first lay in defending prisoners, and in a subsequent period of his life he was admitted to be the best criminal lawyer at the Bar. At that time a Catholic Irishman had only one road for ambition, by the Bar; and an eminent "Counsellor" was looked up to with the greatest respect. The superiority of his forensic powers so soon became manifest, that he took up a leading position in the profession, and as soon as he acquired some legal distinction, he plunged into Catholic agitation.

But agitation was then a very different thing

from what it afterwards became. The Catholic Aristocracy affected to direct the progress of the Catholic affairs. They were not in anywise fitted for the struggles of political life. They were ridiculously vain of their titles and their own importance; the outrages of the French Revolution had encreased their dislike to democracy. The Irish Rebellion of 1798, had made them uneasy about their estates, and they felt that their own permanent interests were bound up with the Government. Hence they asked for Emancipation more in the style of simpering courtiers than free minded citizens. It is easy to abuse the Lords Gormanston, Trimleston, and Fingal, but when the state of opinion at that time is taken into account, it will be found that their conduct was such as might have been anticipated in any body of Catholic Nobility.

A kind of middle-class party, however, was in those days (1809 and subsequently) rapidly springing up. It disliked the feebleness of the aristocratic leaders, and affected democratic principles. This party, which was composed of the Catholic shopkeepers and attornies, soon became averse to the feeble policy of the Catholic Peers and Gentry. Several barristers joined the popular body in the Catholics, and

so much popularity was rapidly attained by those professional declaimers on the rights, and rhetorical blubberers over the wrongs of their country, that the greatest ambition of a young Irish Catholic was to be "a counsellor." Many legal "O's" and "Mac's" joined the political body of the Catholics, and the question was as often debated whether Counsellor Houlahan was a more "iligant spaker" than Counsellor Moriarty O'Toole: as whether it was advisable to "cut" the alliance with Grattan, Plunkett, and the Whigs, or join Sir Francis Burdett and the Radicals.

But the principal representatives in those days of the great Catholic body were Lords Fingal—Trimleston, and Ffrench amongst the Peerage, and Messrs. Scully—Hussey—and Clinch amongst the barristers. The celebrated John Keogh, who resembled O'Connell in his power of swaying the Irish populace, more than any of his contempories or predecessors, had retired into solitude, compelled by the state of his health, to seek relief from the labours of public life. The merits and political ability of Keogh have seldom been duly acknowledged. He communicated a popular impulse to the Catholic Question, which never would have been im-

parted by the Aristocracy, or the influential Catholic lawyers. It is much to be regretted that few details have come down to us of his life and character.

Unlike O'Connell, Keogh was not educated for a profession. He had no family pretensions, and was engaged in commercial speculations. According to Edmund Burke,* he was only a "nominal Catholic," but in politics he warmly sympathized with the vast body of his countrymen, and though like most men who have devoted their lives to public service, his character has been subjected to imputations, there can be no doubt that of the Irish Historical Catholics he ranks next in importance to O'Connell. His talents were essentially those of a practical man, who cared little for vain glory, and valued popular eloquence as a means of utility, and not as the instrument of personal ambition. He may have had his errors and weaknesses, but the measure of his services far outweighed his faults. He was an Irish Catholic, with a free mind—a bold purpose—and a self-reliant character; and he communicated to his contemporaries, much of that independent feeling, the want of which had

* Vide Correspondence with Dr. French Lawrence.

been previously desiderated amongst the Catholics of Ireland.

The Earl of Fingal (father of the present Peer) was a calm, mild, and virtuous aristocrat —sincerely attached to the cause of the Catholics, but deficient in energy, and political resolution. His contemporary, and fellow labourer, Lord Trimleston, was a Frenchified Irishman, who had been educated in the ideas that prevailed in the Court of France, twenty years prior to the revolution, whose awful horrors aggravated his antipathy to popular influences. He presented a singular contrast to another Catholic Peer, Lord Ffrench, whose family had not long been ennobled, and who was a remarkable specimen of *Galway character.* This latter nobleman, had a fierce countenance, and an audacious demeanour; he had strong natural feelings, which often found utterance, without regard to conventional propriety. He was a kind of patrician demagogue, and with his huge frame—coarse Galway voice—violent gesticulation—abundant humour, though not of the best kind, formed in his vehement nature no bad specimen of the natives of the west of Ireland.

Amongst the barristers in those days, Mr. Scully was the most active and able, in sup-

porting the claims of the Catholics. His character was like that of a cunning Sharman Crawford, working for Catholic purposes. No man surpassed him in entire devotion to the cause; no man was more intent on working the Catholic Question with energy and perseverance. He had not the qualities that obtain popularity with the multitude. He was sparingly gifted with the national eloquence of his countrymen, but he had the talents of a lawyer and a man of business; and if he could not dazzle an audience, he could direct a committee with consummate skill and prudence. He was a member of a wealthy, though not an ancient family, and his name is now preserved as the author of the well known work on the Penal Laws—a book which the present Earl Grey once assured an Irish gentleman, had produced great effect in making Englishmen of the highest rank and authority, for the first time, sensible of the severities of the Anti-Catholic code.

Messrs. Hussey and Clinch, though men of no mean abilities and attainments, do not require any particular notice. Doctor Droomgoole, a coarse Catholic fanatic, made himself offensive and troublesome, by his sacerdotal swagger, and his loathsome bigotry. He was

as narrow minded a member of the Church of Rome, as it has ever produced in any age, or in any country. What Mc Ghee (of the "ingenious device" notoriety) is in Protestantism, Droomgoole was in Catholicity.

Such (from 1795 to 1810) were the most prominent leaders of the Irish Catholics.

It must be admitted that when O'Connell first joined the Catholic Committee, the affairs of the Catholics were in a very bad state. For the first few years after he entered public life he did not obtain much power, except amongst the lower classes. His language was violent, and he quarrelled with the Whig leaders, and laboured to make the venerable Grattan as unpopular as possible; for which, however, he was severely taken to task in a letter called "Faction Unmasked," a political pamphlet, written with great power, of which the authorship is still unavowed. In 1816, or thereabouts, he had reached the eminence of being looked on as the most powerful man in the Catholic body, a station that he reached as much by his forensic powers at the Bar, and his brilliant professional success, as by his political talents, or the popularity of his character. He went the Munster Circuit, which, in those days, was

thronged by men of great professional ability. But O'Connell ranked first amongst the first, His qualities as a professional man have, perhaps, never been sufficiently noticed.

Caution in conducting a case was his most prominent characteristic. He affected to be careless, but a more wary advocate never stood in a Court of Justice. Perhaps no great advocate ever had the same relish for the legal profession. O'Connell hunted down a cause with the gusto of a Kerry foxhunter in pursuit of Reynard. He keenly enjoyed baffling the Crown Counsel, and bullying the witnesses against some trembling culprit in the dock. In those times Counsel for prisoners were not allowed to address the jury, but O'Connell had a great art of putting illegal questions to a witness, and in arguing for their legality, made "*aside*" short interjectional speeches to the jury.

"You see, my Lud, the reason why I put the question was because if the witness were to answer in the affirmative, it would then be a manifest impossibility that my client could have been present at the murder, whereas, on the other hand, if the answer be in the negative, then the credibility of the whole statement of

the Crown Counsel would be impugned by that very answer: so then, my Lud, the Jury would be obliged, &c." He would then teaze the Judge by putting his question in three or four different forms, and overwhelm the Crown Counsel with derisive exposure of their legal ignorance. "Good God! my Lud, did any one ever hear a Crown lawyer propound such monstrous law?" He acted the part of an indignant lawyer to perfection; caught up his brief-bag in a seeming fury, and dashed it against the witness table—frowned—muttered fearfully to himself,—sat down in a rage, with a horrid scowl on his face; l ı ced up again, in a fit of boiling passion, and solemnly protested in the face of Heaven against such injustice—threw his brief away—swaggered out of the Court House—then swaggered back again, and wound up by brow-beating and abusing half a dozen more witnesses, and without any real grounds whatever, finally succeeded in making half of the jury refuse to bring in a verdict of "Guilty."

In civil cases he was equally successful. In Will causes, disputed estates, and questions originating in family quarrels, he was unrivalled for his tact, presence of mind, and above all,

for his understanding the details of business. He was the best man of business that ever appeared at the Irish Bar, and was rather vain of his skill in arithmetical calculations. He had great knowledge of character, and dissected the motives of a plaintiff or defendant with inimitable skill. His combination of worldly knowledge and professional information—his aptness and ingenuity—his exhaustless supply of humour—his torrents of caustic ridicule—his zeal for his client, and untiring physical energies rendered him altogether matchless at the Irish Bar.

Perhaps his greatest quality in a court of justice was his oblivion of himself. When addressing a jury, he forgot every thing around him, and thought only of bringing off his client victorious. No lust for oratorical display ever tempted him to make a speech dangerous to the party by whom he was retained. Sooner than have made such a speech as Brougham delivered in the case of Ambrose Williams, O'Connell would have thrown up his brief. He was *par excellence* the safest advocate ever entrusted with a case. For the union of great general powers he stands without a rival in the history of the legal profession. Curran and

Erskine were finer orators, but they were shallower lawyers; Plunket had a more powerful understanding, and was superior to all contemporary advocates in sustained reasoning powers, but he had little of O'Connell's versatility. If Sir Thomas Wilde had pathos and humour he would be a sort of English O'Connell. Redoubtable as was Garrow at cross-examination, he was inferior to the great Irish advocate in the art of putting a prepared witness off his guard. Besides Garrow had a set plan for approaching a witness, and seldom made those wonderful guesses at character, by which O'Connell gained many a verdict.

There can be no doubt that his powers in a Court of justice deserved, as they received, the admiration of all who witnessed their display.

With the exception of the poet Moore, O'Connell was the first of the Irish Catholics who obtained great intellectual distinctions. Thirty years since, when the Catholics were a degraded body, a man who had raised himself to social eminence was naturally a person of great consequence amongst the whole body. The paucity of distinguished Catholics gave an extrinsic importance to those who towered above their co-religionists. The professional

eminence of Daniel O'Connell made him a *puissance* of the first magnitude in the popular party.

But he had other circumstances in his favour of which he availed himself. The O'Connell family was a very "long tailed" one, and he had legions of cousins, uncles, nephews, and innumerable kinsmen in the Southwest of Ireland. His grandmother had twenty two children, most of whom patriotically encreased the population. Now the route of the Munster Circuit lies through the Counties of Clare, Limerick—Kerry—and Cork—Assizes being held at Ennis—Limerick, Tralee, and Cork City. In all these places were located many of the kindred of the "Counsellor,"* and it was a matter of boast to be "cousin to Counsellor O'Connell," — "she married a sister's son of Counsellor O'Connell," &c. These friends all formed a vast "*following*," and were of great use to him in firmly buttressing up his popularity. No one was fonder of recognizing family ties than O'Connell. He was always glad to meet with his

* The names of the Agitator, and the Liberator were bestowed on him several years afterwards.

third cousins. Thus independently of his politics, he contrived to have a larger "following" than any of the O's" and "Macs," since the times of the Desmond, or Shawn O'Neil.

The circuit took him from Dublin twice a-year, and he almost invariably got a public dinner at each assize town. Besides there was a public meeting to petition for Emancipation and pass resolutions. At these reunions he always was the most applauded speaker, though it must be readily acknowledged that the palm of superior eloquence was vigorously contended for by other popular declaimers. No quality stood him in more use than his unruffled good spirits, and his perennial fountain of Irish humour, that never failed to delight an audience of his countrymen, who are always thirsty for fun. His jocund smile and insinuating manners—his coaxing ways—his jovial appearance, with his manly athletic person, enabled him to win his way to all hearts. He made everybody almost his friend, and by his great professional eminence extorted respect from those who doubted his integrity—disliked his frequent employment of tribunitian artifices, and his disgusting proneness to scurrility.

Another element, however, entered into his

influence, viz., *his regular practice of his religion.*

The Catholic Church depends more on the use of forms than any other religion whatever. It is a vast work of Art, achieved by the most gifted Italian minds of several centuries. Throughout it bears the impress of Italian genius. There is a Roman magnificence in its intellectual imperialism, and an artistic completeness in its elaborate ceremonies, its pompous rites, and its imposing richness. It is emphatically a governmental religion. Its leading principle is, that men can never be trusted to themselves—that in religious affairs they must always be hoodwinked, and kept in leading-strings. It has taken a very comprehensive diagnosis of human nature; but it disregards the thirst for knowledge, so natural to the human mind—and the honest and innate aspirations of the soul, on which it sets little value. In the philosophy of the Catholic church, human nature is not very admirable or loveable. It pretends to enforce Christian humility more perfectly than the Church of England and other Protestant churches, but like Calvinism, it succeeds in creating feelings of disgust amongst many purely religious minds.

The skill with which it has embodied its ethics, and made its metaphysics palpable to the mass of mankind, is of exquisite ingenuity. It has laid hold on the love of decoration and ornament, natural to the mind, which it has vigorously attacked through the senses. It is unfortunately more familiar with the human mind in a state of disease than in one of strength, and it loves rather to track the progress of evil in all its various ramifications, than to contemplate the soul in its state of nature. Like every other religion that has flourished extensively, Roman Catholicity has caught hold of a vast share of truth, but its inherent antipathy to the noble and dignified ethics of self-government must for ever banish from its pale a large class of minds that would be glad enough to avail themselves of external assistance, provided more manly and less cowardly views of human destiny were preached from its pulpits, and unfolded in its colleges.

Whatever may be the objective truth or falsehood of the Catholic system of religion, there can be little doubt that in Ireland, forty years since, to the Irish Catholics it was completely true. Even those amongst them, of whom there will always be a large class, who

did not subject themselves to its ordinances, and had doubts of some parts of its creed, considered it in the main the best of all religions. Many of the barristers and wealthy merchants amongst the Catholics, and those who mixed extensively in the world, were not very strict in their attendance on the ceremonial rites of their church, though they were attached to its religion, and were zealous promoters of all Catholic interests. Amongst *these*, however, O'Connell was not to be found. He was no—

"Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens."

on the contrary, he was celebrated for the strictness of his religious attendance at Mass, confession, communion, &c. It is believed that he became more religious after the death of D'Esterre;* and regularly at the assize town, he made his communion at early Mass on Sunday. In short, he became as conspicuous in his religious character as in anything else.

* O'Connell was as blameless in that duel as it is possible for any duellist to be. He had really given no cause for offence to his opponent, who insisted on "satisfaction," which O'Connell, by the custom of society, was compelled to give. The event, while it properly made O'Connell decline any further personal encounter, ought, however, have made him avoid giving pain needlessly to others by his wholesale and reckless denunciation

Of course the censorious world was at once ready to cry out "Hypocrite!" The detracting tongue of slander shot out many a bitter jibe at the prominence and publicity of his frequent receptions of the Sacrament. Nor did these remarks proceed from political foes. The 'knowing ones' amongst the Catholic body bit their lips, hemmed three times, and turned away to laugh. Many even of the Catholics who did not openly deride this manifestation of O'Connell's *religiosity* admitted that much of it was for *edifying purposes*. At all events so much attention did this point of O'Connell's character obtain, that it was very frequently commented upon amongst Catholics.

Whether there was any deliberate ostentation in this *religiosity*, must be left to another and more awful judgment than that which this world can give. But that Daniel O'Connell was a hypocrite in his religious faith, and that he was a mere crafty actor, publicly kneeling at the altar rails in order to enhance his character with a people who luxuriate in devotion, and are partial to the external manifestations of religious sentiment, is a falsehood too black for any malignity, save that of Spanish Jesuits, to invent, or any credulity, except that of English Puseyites, to swallow.

O'Connell is essentially a mediœval Catholic. The glorious struggles—exuberant literature, and the creative philosophy of the last three centuries have left hardly any impress on his understanding. In matters of religion he is by conviction and habit the decided partizan of the principle of Priestly Authority, and the Catholic Church has not throughout the globe a more docile subject than the politically intractable leader of the Irish Democracy. His intellect, however comprehensive or powerful, has little of the spirit of insurrectionary genius in its nature. He has essentially one of those minds that would in any age follow whatever faith—Mahommedan or Gentoo—Greek, or Roman,—Catholic, Lutheran or Presbyterian—it chanced to have been reared in.

However this religiosity greatly contributed to make him powerful with the priesthood, and popular with the multitude. Both felt that he was thoroughly with them, and deserving of their most intimate confidence.

From those various circumstances, viz.:

1. His brilliant pre-eminence in his profession,

2. His extensive train of relatives and kindred,

3. His general popularity amongst different classes,

4. His supremacy in the public meetings,

he had built himself up an extent of *durable political influence*, such as had never before been seen in Ireland. Curran had been very popular, but never powerful; Grattan, in comparison with O'Connell, was an isolated man, who did not sway large classes of society; Flood's influence was but for a brief era, but O'Connell's professional rank was of a sustaining character, that neither the ill will of the Government or the levity of the multitude could injure. Besides, his numerous "following" were all interested in attacking those who attacked O'Connell; they took it as personal to themselves, and it would have been as impossible for the Government to have bribed, as for the hostility of rival tribunes to have bullied the numerous members of the Clan O'Connell.

When George the Fourth visited Ireland, O'Connell blarneyed the Monarch in the most fulsome manner, and disgusted all those who were not carried away by the excessive folly of the people who with delirious joy shouted for one who had never done a single thing to deserve the admiration of any country. They

who believe in the "vox populi, vox Dei," would certainly find it difficult to defend the delirium of frantic joy into which Ireland fell at a King visiting its shores.

The people believed, of course, that he would do wonders for them, and they had been told that he was their well wisher, and at a time when there was not in the Government any friend to the Irish,* when Castlereagh was Leader of the House of Commons, and Lord Talbot Viceroy of Ireland, undoubtedly it was some gratification to a gallant and unfortunate people, to receive a Royal visit † *meant as complimentary*, and when aristocratic insolence had so often scowled upon them, it was something to have a Sovereign smile graciously. This is the only possible way in which an Irishman can apologise for the thoughtless joy of his countrymen upon that occasion, but nothing can be said in extenuation of the loathsome slaver with

* Canning had resigned upon Queen Caroline's trial, and Charles Grant (Chief Secretary for Ireland) was little known to the Irish public.

† The sufferings of the Royal Traveller, during this tour, are graphically described in his letters to Sir W. Knighton. It must be admitted that the hauteur of the Monarch thawed considerably. He was quite astonished with the warmth of his Irish subjects.

which O'Connell smeared the character of the most selfish Monarch alive, and of the plausible air with which he deliberately acted a part of revolting humbug, not to give it any harsher designation.

For many years the Catholics had been without a regular Association. They had quarrelled amongst themselves so often, that they were deemed hardly capable of managing their own affairs, and the Government had on more than one occasion put down their body. At length the famous Catholic Association was formed, which had most powerful influence in carrying Emancipation. Its history has already been recorded by the pen of one of its most distinguished members, and it is not necessary in these pages to notice the details of its progress. Be it enough to say that it was on a vast scale—that nearly all the priests and Catholic shopkeepers were enrolled in it—that the Catholic Bar almost unanimously supported it, and that within its ranks were found not merely Catholic Peers, but many of the Protestant gentry. Although there had been bodies of a similar kind previously in Ireland, none ever so much possessed the confidence of the Catholics, and it speedily acquired a stature

that compelled the British Minister—that Minister, Wellington—to yield the Catholic claims.

Without O'Connell, the Association would never have obtained such power. He used it as a vast lever by which he raised the passions of the multitude. Undoubtedly there were able men who figured in its proceedings, but O'Connell was the animating spirit of the body; the others were more for ornament than use. Many of its members envied him his vast influence, and as they could not force *him* to succumb to *them*, they resolved to thwart him, and some of the most formidable opposition he experienced was from persons professing exactly the same principles as himself. He became a sort of Catholic Dictator, and he was compelled, in self defence to push aside with great roughness many an honest and enthusiastic ultra-Catholic, who possessed more zeal than discretion. He was emphatically *the* man of business in the Association, and he probably effected as much by his judicious labours in the Committees, as when addressing the Catholic body at large.

The public are already sufficiently familiar with the facts connected with the Clare Elec-

tion, and with the Duke of Wellington's Relief Bill. It may be well here to indicate the great difference between Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Union as mere political questions in relation to the great principles that govern the State.

## CHAPTER III.

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EMANCIPATION AND REPEAL.

"Men of sense, when a new project comes before them, must see the object to be of a proper magnitude; they must see the means of compassing it to be next to certain; the mischiefs not to counterbalance the profit; they will examine how a proposed regulation agrees with the opinion of those who are likely to be affected by it; they will not despise the consideration even of their habitudes and prejudices. They will also wish to know how it agrees with the true spirit of prior establishments, of government or finance."

BURKE.

"Observations on a late state of the Nation.

"The practical consequences of any political tenet go a great way in deciding upon its value. Political problems do not primarily concern truth or falsehood. What in the result is likely to produce evil is politically false; that which is productive of good, politically true.

"Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

THE most prominent difficulty in dealing with the Catholic Question was how to manage the

Protestant Dissenters of England? It was evident that their claims were very analagous in their nature to those of the Irish Catholics, though in strict justice, the cause of the latter rested on much stronger political ground, inasmuch as a bargain had been made with them at the time of the Union, which bargain had been broken. So strongly did this distinction operate on some persons, that George Canning, to the last hour of his life, opposed the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, although he had supported, with his captivating eloquence, the cause of the Catholics. It was very generally felt, however, by British Statesmen, that if one question were yielded, the other should also be conceded.

It is important to observe that a considerable portion of the British public had always been in favour of Emancipation. The Whig party had zealously supported it, and had even made many sacrifices for its sake. The Whigs could have held power several times from 1806 if they had abandoned the question, which they refused to do. From the days of Sir George Saville downwards, all the great English and Irish Whigs—*men* jealous of the honour and

glory of the Empire, had manfully supported the religious freedom of the Catholic. Mr. Fox made it a Whig Question, and his friends cordially supported him. Burke's first pamphlet * was in favour of the Catholics, and he remained their unflinching friend to the end of his career. Lords Grenville and Grey strenuously insisted on its being settled. In short, the Whig party, by their spirited sacrifices, kept the Catholic cause as a *leading English political question;* they succeeded in identifying the British Liberal Party with its agitation, and in dividing the mind of Protestant England upon the expediency of its concession. On one side was nearly all that was exalted in moral worth, or dignified by intellectual eminence, and on the other were statesmen, such as Liverpool, Vansittart, Perceval, and Sidmouth—backed by the intolerance and bigotry of the old Tory party.

In short, the Catholic Question was by no means merely an Irish one. Considered in an Imperial point of view, it was rather a

* Published in Dublin.

Dissenter's Question, and there can be no doubt that it commanded the zealous support of the British Whigs and Radicals, besides being aided by the liberal Tories, with Canning at their head. Many very zealous anti-Reformers were cordial friends to Religious Liberty. Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Glenelg, were as constant in their support of Grattan and Plunket, as they were regular in attendance against Hobhouse and Burdett. It is almost certain that the Literary World (with some great exceptions) gave its sympathies to the Catholics; a large portion of the English Press supported their petitions for *their admission within the Constitution.* So very great was the division of sentiment in English society upon the rights of the Catholics, that a civil war for the purpose of putting them down, would never have received the support of the English people. Thinking England would never have gone to war for a mere constitutional Question, the concession of which did not necessarily involve the jeopardy of her Empire, or the diminution of her political authority, as a first rate and substantive European Power.

It may here be remarked that the pertinacity

and consistency of the Whig party caused this state of opinion in England. If Lords Grenville, Grey, and Lansdowne had acted a less uncompromising part in English politics, the British public would not have been in such a state as immediately to have reciprocated the influence of the Clare Election, and (if the expression may be permitted) to have felt the violent throbbing of the Irish pulse.*

Let us now look at the way in which the question of Repeal bears upon British interests. If the Union with Ireland were dissolved, the following would be the probable—nay—the certain results.

1. *England would cease to be a great substantive Power, and Europe would be left at the mercy of Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia.*

The Irish Repealers may object that such a consummation should have happened in the last century previous to the Union, if it were likely to take place now upon its supposed dis-

* Perhaqs the great qaalities of the Duke of Wellington were more characteristically shewn in the resolution of mind and energy which he then displayed, than in the unflinching courage and capacity by which he led to the final downfal of Napoleon.

solution. But to this, and all similar arguments of the Repeal party, it is a sufficient political answer to reply, that Ireland had never a free Parliament until 1782; that within eighteen years the connection was three times all but dissolved, viz. by Flood's political Convention for ultra-Reform,—by the difference upon the Regency Question in 1787; and by the Rebellion of 1798; that Fox and Burke, while yielding to an Irish army, led by an Irish Aristocracy, considered that Grattan's Revolution was most calamitous to England: and that Pitt, in the very outset of his parliamentary life, resolved on the measure of a Union, and the extinction of the Irish Parliament, from his sagacious foresight of the probable results of two Legislatures in one Empire.

2. The character of England would be ruined by consenting to such a measure. Her reputation for sagacity and political ability would be destroyed—her fame would vanish.

3. Her material interests would share the same ruin as her moral power. As in individuals so in nations, character is the creator of national wealth and rank in the social scale.

4. It would rob England of a large home

market for her Manufactures; for, of course, an Irish Parliament would adopt the Political Economy of the national school, and pass a Tariff hostile to English Manufactures.

5. In so doing it would not merely cut off from England a large portion of her home trade, but it would also set up a rival trader, at her very side.

6. It would be creating a hostile country, whose emigrants swarm in the British Colonies; all of whom would be ready to act in concert with the Irish rulers at College Green.

7. The difficulty of maintaining a large Standing Army would be encreased considerably. Even if Irish soldiers enlisted in the English ranks, upon any collision with Ireland, they would probably desert, and start up against "the Saxons." The loyalty of a large portion of the Army would be doubtful, and the vast Indian Empire, and Colonies, would probably be left exposed for want of troops.

8. The Funds would be very liberally "sponged," for, of course, Ireland when separate would not consent to be held responsible for debts that *she* never contracted.

9. The British Empire, that has been built

up at such an enormous amount of moral and physical exertion, and at such a vast expenditure of blood, and treasure, would be gone for EVER! In consenting to "Repeal," England might inscribe on its Standard

"Fuit Ilium, atquo ingus gloria Tencrum."

These would be only a *few* of the objections that England may fairly urge against the suicidal proposition of dissolving the Legislative Union with Ireland. What the latter country has to say in favour of such a measure as regarding *its own* and *not English* interests, will be treated of elsewhere.

But when Mr. O'Connell and other Repealers try to persuade the Irish people of the feasibility of dissolving the Union, by reminding them how "impracticable" Emancipation was considered, let the nature of the two questions be considered fairly, and it will be found that the temporary impracticability of Emancipation, is an *a fortiori* argument for the utter impossibility of "Repeal." One is a question necessarily involving the ruin of the British Empire; the other was one in which religious prejudices were engaged. England

could afford to grant one, she can never yield the other.

It is said, however, by the Repealers, that she was *made* to yield Emancipation by Ireland. But an important truth is not observed, that if England had been as unanimous against Emancipation as she is against Repeal, she never would have consented to the great measure of 1829 without an appeal to arms, in which, to *say the least*, Great Britain, aided by the population of Ulster, and by three-fourths of the Irish Landlords had as good a chance of success as the Irish Catholics, aided by the Irish Whigs and Protestant Liberals. It is most unhappily true that the Catholic claims were yielded to intimidation, but it was to the threat of a civil war upon a subject that, from its political nature, *was utterly unworthy of being fought for by England*, although it may have merited a recourse to arms by the Irish Catholics. Repeal of the Union, on the other hand, may likewise merit appeal to the sword, by the Irish, but from such an appeal England can never shrink; for the existence of her magnificent Empire, her prosperity as a commercial power, and the perpetuation of her glory, unlike

Catholic Emancipation, can never be subjects for indifference or doubt. In bestowing one, she cast away a prejudice! in yielding the other, she would be recklessly resigning her own life.

## CHAPTER IV.

## STARTING THE REPEAL QUESTION.

> " And from the gulf of uncreated night,
> Call phantoms of futurity to light."
> GIANT CHIEFTAIN, by James Montgomery.

> " He let me loose, and cried ' Halloo ! ' "
> To him alone the praise is due."
> COLERIDGE'S War Eclogu.

To have supposed that Ireland, after the excitement which had prevailed for five years previous to Catholic Emancipation, would have been *immediately* tranquillised by the concession of that measure, was very ridiculous; and yet a number of politicians at both sides of the Channel, were disappointed, because a mere statute did not instantly heal the wounds of

centuries. In any case her politics would have been disturbed rather than tranquil, but it must be admitted that raising the standard of Repeal of the Union was an incomparable plan for continuing with encreased force the agitation that was beginning, though slowly, to subside.

What O'Connell's real motives were, when he announced his new agitation in 1829, can only be left to himself to determine. It is probable they were of so mixed a nature that even he himself could not accurately define them, for most assuredly his subsequent career shews that his ideas were of the vaguest and most shadowy character. At different periods of his life he had professed a desire to struggle for Repeal; but Mr. Sheil, in his examination before the House of Commons in 1825, declared that in Ireland, such allusions to the legislative independence of the country were merely employed as "rhetorical artifices." No one had any serious notion that the question would have been substantially raised, and repealers were looked upon in Ireland as speculative Republicans are in England.

In June, 1828, in his address to the electors of Clare, O'Connell announced amongst other

of his legislative intentions "to bring the question of the Repeal of the Union, at the earliest possible period before the consideration of the Legislature." But so little attention was then (while the agitation for the Catholic claims was raging) bestowed on such a subject, that no notice was taken of this allusion by any party. O'Connell, in consequence of a special clause in that Act, was obliged to have recourse to a new election for Clare, and he again announced his intention of seeking for a Repeal. No one, however, paid any regard even to that announcement. On Wednesday, June 3d, 1829, previous to the second Clare Election, he said in Dublin, at a meeting held in Clarendon-street Chapel,—"We want political excitement, in order that we may insist upon our rights as Irishmen, but not as Catholics;" and then he proceeded to harangue upon the absolute necessity of having a Parliament That speech is one of the earliest of his proclamations upon the new agitation. On the 20th June, of the same month and year, having in the interval published his intentions in various ways, he predicted that "*before three years* there would be a Parliament in Dublin." That

prediction he uttered while speaking in the Corn Exchange.

And thus, *let what would happen*, he had furnished Ireland with a new means of what he said was wanted, viz.—" political excitement." It seems, upon a calm retrospective view of his political course since then, that O'Connell was animated more by the resolution to continue agitating in an imposing style to the end of his days, than to apply himself to the achievement of a great political question, with a serious belief that he would obtain it. After having forced Repeal upon the Irish public, against the earnest advice and urgent remonstrances of many friends to liberty—after having by its means ejected from Parliament men who adorned their country, and filled their places with persons who covered themselves with ridicule, when they appeared in the characters of Members of the House of Commons—after having by the agitation of this question strengthened the Tory Party considerably, and widely spread the elements of division amongst the Liberals—he gave up the cause to which he was so solemnly pledged—" Equality with England," then became his cry. If in the first instance he had,

like a statesman, examined the nature of the Question, and contrasted its difficulties with those that prevented the concession of the Catholic claims ; either,—he never would have commenced an agitation for Repeal, or once having began it, he would never have entered into any compromise upon the subject.

It is quite possible that after having so long tasted of the luxury of popularity, he could not consent that the chalice should pass from his lips. Agitation had, perhaps, begun to be necessary to his existence ; a tranquil life would have been a Hell to him. The Bar presented to him no new field in which he might exhaust his superfluous energies, and probably his good sense told him, that even with the most favourable circumstances, he never could obtain more than a qualified success in the English House of Commons. In short, the promptings of his ambition made him determine upon continuing to wield the popular masses in Ireland, and such being his determination, he resolved to take up the only question sufficiently large and dazzling, to make the multitude eagerly rush after him.

Let no one, however, think that O'Connell had no opinions in favor of Repeal. It is, probably, also the truth that he cared nearly as much for Repeal as for Emancipation ; the

Catholic Question was to him rather Irish than Liberal, and Repeal was in his eyes only another sort of Catholic Emancipation. He had some convictions, strong ambition, and was rather reckless how he gratified that ambition. Such is, perhaps, a fair account of his state of mind in 1829.

However, the country received his new announcement with great coldness, and no one could believe that he was serious in taking up Repeal. It is certain that his conduct was strongly condemned by a large portion of the Catholic body. But O'Connell knew Ireland well, and possessing a thorough acquaintance with the means by which the passions of his countrymen are excited, resolved that every grievance should be connected with the cause of Repeal. Every wrong act on the part of the Government, he determined to convert into an argument for the necessity of an Irish Legislature. Having once planned his campaign, there was no great difficulty to a man of his matchless popular powers in carrying his designs (so far as creating an excitement of which he should be the presiding spirit) into immediate execution.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE NORTHUMBERLAND GOVERNMENT.

"And is thy Grace no more revered?
Indeed! 'tis greatly to be feared!

PETER PINDAR.

In 1829-30, Ireland was governed by the Duke of Northumberland, an amiable and charitable Crœsus, who seemed to think that the great art for ruling the Irish was to exhibit fine clothes, fine coaches, and fine horses, in the streets of Dublin, and to subscribe liberally to public institutions. His lady was admitted by all parties to have been most charitable and

kind, and to have been munificent in her benefactions to Roman Catholic societies. All the good that can be said of his Vice Regal Administration is, that he was a charitable private character, and all the evil, perhaps, may be summed up in the fact, that he was a complete political nonentity.

His Chief Secretary was Lord Leveson Gower (Lord Francis Egerton), but of his ministerial character little is to be said. He was not sufficiently long in Ireland to have indicated any features by which his political ability could be recognised; he impressed those who approached him, with the most favorable ideas of his intentions, and his personal character; he was much esteemed for his virtues, and admired for his pleasing accomplishments, and on the whole produced the sort of effect that Lord Morpeth would have realised, if he had served under a Tory Lord Lieutenant in times prior to the Reform Bill.

One important act of the Executive was performed by the Northumberland Government, viz.—it put down, by Proclamation, a Repeal Society, which held public meetings under the title of "The Friends to Ireland," It was got up under O'Connell's patronage, and was, in

point of fact, the Repeal Association in embryo. It is worthy of remark that at the time it was put down, it was not composed of any influential persons. At most two or three names of consideration on the score of rank, character, and talent, were amongst its members, and none of the persons that gave weight to the Catholic Association were to be found in its ranks. A brace or two of youthful barristers were its principal supporters. The Government, however, thought proper to put it down. Judging after the event, there can be no doubt in saying, that it was foolish to have meddled with it.

It was useless for the Government to proclaim down such an association. It could not by doing so, deprive DANIEL O'CONNELL of his popularity, his eloquence, and his talents for swaying the Irish populace. Without an Association, he made himself heard more plainly through Ireland, than if he had been left in the undisputed controul of his Repeal bantling. The Government was decidedly over-hasty in noticing "The Friends to Ireland," as at that time they were very insignificant "Enemies to England."

As connected with the subsequent progress

of the Repeal Agitation it will be especially necessary to mark the characters of the advisers to the Crown.

The Attorney-General was Mr. Joy, one of the ablest practical lawyers that these countries have produced, and one of the bitterest bigots that Irish Toryism had ever nurtured. He had the temperament and physiognomy of a sour, dyspeptic, and disappointed old bachelor; there was a moroseness in his visage, combined with a feline cunning, that seemed to repel feelings of sympathy. Generally unpopular, he preserved the regard of a few attached friends. He was a truly formidable man, having possessed a cold and self-relying determination, an acute and untiring intellect, exclusively devoted to law, and a characteristic caution. He was thoroughly master of his profession, in which he could cope with the ablest Judges on the British Bench.*

Joy had been Solicitor-General during the administration of Lord Wellesley. The practice had been to link a Liberal Attorney-General with a Tory Solicitor, and a Tory

* Sir Edward Sugden has paid, in his legal writings, a most emphatic tribute to the legal talents of Mr. Joy.

Secretary with a Liberal Lord Lieutenant, and *vice versâ*. Thus Lord Wellesley and Plunket were matched in the same Government against Goulburn and Joy. When Plunket was raised to the Bench and the Peerage, Joy became Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-Generalship was conferred upon Mr. John Doherty.

It has been often asserted that Joy was an Orangeman, but there is no proof of the fact.* Of course, he had many friends who were attached to those Societies, but every Irish gentleman had many Orange acquaintances. However, there can be no doubt that he was a morose Tory, with a cherished contempt for popular principles.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. John Doherty, was a very different sort of man. In Ireland, appearances are thought more of than in any other country in the world, and the Solicitor-General's face and figure were just as prepossessing, as the aspect of the Attorney-General was forbidding. Mr. Doherty was a gallant, dashing, handsome Irish gentleman; remarkably tall in stature, and in his carriage resem-

* With Mr. Plunket, he was Solicitor-General, and in 1822, he prosecuted in the Bottle Riot case of Treason.

bling a lively Colonel of Dragoons much more than a practising Barrister. He had an animated countenance, in which, with all its smiling warmth, there was a subdued fierceness, expressive of intrepidity and energy. He was in figure and manners the very *beau ideal* of Mr. Lever's heroes—Charles O'Malley with four inches added to his stature.

Mr. Doherty had been called to the Bar in 1808, but had never attained to any great eminence. As a lawyer, he never held high rank in his profession, and as a *nisi prius* advocate, he was far outtopped by his contemporaries, Wallace, Goold, O'Loghlen, and Holmes, not to speak of O'Connell. At the Equity Bar, he had scarcely any practice, and from his rhetorical class of mind, he had little chance of competing with Pennefather, Lefroy, Warren, or Blackburne.

He had managed, however, to attain a tolerably mixed practice, arising chiefly from his circuit connexions; and his professional income was so large that he resigned a Commissionership worth twelve hundred pounds *per annum*. He was a delightful companion, most deservedly popular in general society, and at the Irish Bar *social* character is one of the helps by which a

man rises into eminence. He had great enjoyability, and an imposing style of address, which was skilfully relieved by a light satirical talent for polished raillery, that never transgressed the conventional bounds of politeness. His face, figure, and fluency of style were all in his favour. He was a gentlemanly rhetorician, and had nothing of the professional sparkling of Mr. Goold, or the vendible smartness of Mr. Sheil. He was powerful only in one art —that of sneering—no one could do it better. In one class of cases, where a plaintiff was to be laughed out of court, he was very successful; but he could not hoodwink a Judge—puzzle a legal adversary, or sway a jury. Yet, taking him for all in all, he was a man of decided talents, and had he been trained to a Parliamentary life, he would have reached a high station in politics. Indeed, his proper *rôle* was that of a political gladiator.

He was a relative of George Canning, to whom he had a very strong family resemblance.* His distinguished kinsman was anxious to bring oratorical talent to his aid, and introduced into

* Hoppner's portrait of Canning, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, is very like Chief Justice Doherty.

Parliament Messrs. Doherty and North.† It was the connexion with Canning that subsequently procured for Mr. Doherty the Solicitor-Generalship. In a short time he obtained consideration in the House of Commons, where he spoke the sentiments of a Liberal Tory with ease and grace, and insinuated himself into a good character with Parliament.

But even his strongest supporters and friends would admit that on his nomination to the Irish Solicitor-Generalship, he had very many legal superiors at the Irish Bar. Mr. Doherty's professional rank was similar in its character to that of Mr. North or Mr. Sheil. It was of the degree that may be attained by those who with fluency of speech combine the tastes and habits of the *literateur*—the fine gentleman and the politician. Yet his appointment was considered a very liberal one at the time, and his legal deficiency was excused on the ground of his having been a zealous Emancipationist. Subsequently, however, he became obnoxious to the democratic

† If Mr. North had lived, he would have reached eminence in the House of Commons. His speech against Reform was very clever; he had Canning too much before his eye, to develop his own powers fairly.

party, in consequence of the memorable *fracas* that took place between him and O'Connell. This quarrel had no mean influence in promoting the agitation of Repeal, and forming an interesting chapter in Irish history, it deserves to be noticed at some length. It originated in reference to the Doneraile Conspiracy, which attracted so much curiosity, and is even to this day shrouded in great mystery. The intellectual power, and moral weakness of O'Connell were never more strikingly displayed than on that occasion, and require to be recorded.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE DONERAILE CONSPIRACY.

> " Within this city's formed a dark conspiracy,
> To massacre us all."
>
> Venice Preserved.

> " Blanching each honest cheek with deeds of night,
> Done there so often by dim and doubtful light."
>
> Rogers.

In the year 1829, many counties of Ireland were exposed to agrarian agitation, and during the three subsequent years, the country continued in a state of prædial disturbance. The neighbourhood of Doneraile, a town romantically situated in the north of the County of

Cork, had been for many years in a very excited state; in fact, it was as if a large tract of Tipperary had been patched upon the otherwise peaceful County of Cork. The country around Doneraile is thickly crowded with an ancient and independent gentry, of a strong aristocratic *caste*, though many of them are Liberals in their views of political affairs. The peasantry are a bold and sturdy race, and in the time of "The Whiteboys" various were the deeds of violence performed by the "Boys of Doneraile." In 1829, strong symptoms of fresh disturbances began to be manifest amongst them, and the Magistrates of the district learned that a conspiracy was on foot to murder several of the gentry of Doneraile, amongst others, Mr. George Bond Low, Admiral Evans, and Mr. Creagh. This fact they learned from a spy, Patrick Daly, whom they had kept for years in their pay.

Although the testimony of such a party would be naturally subject to distrust, fearful confirmation was soon afforded that something evil was brooded upon by the desperate characters amongst the peasantry. Mr. Bond Low was fired at on three different occasions, and his escapes were really marvellous. He was a

very active and zealous Magistrate, and from his extraordinary determination, nay, his downright heroism, was a most formidable person to all who meditated deeds of violence. He was a very large and heavy figure, possessed a cool and daring spirit, and with the exception of the King of the French, no man was, probably, so often attacked by dastardly assassins; but all parallel ceases between Louis Philippe and Mr. Low, when the fact is noticed, that the latter, riding amongst his foes without guards, and by himself alone, more than once captured his assailants, and brought them to the gallows they deserved.

On one occasion, in the noon day, two strong and active peasants, armed with fire arms, attacked him from behind a fence. Nothing daunted, although his mare was severely wounded, he jumped off and crossed the fence. The men fled before him, and he gave chace; but being rather unwieldy, had little chance of catching them. He had pistols, one of which he had ineffectually discharged—they had guns, which they re-loaded. He was afraid to fire, lest they were beyond his reach, and when the men halted to fire again at him, he calculated that by running in on them, even

at the hazard of his life, he would still have a chance of capturing them. He did so; one of the men fired—missed—and ran away. On rushed Mr. Low, and when the second assassin had discharged his piece without effect, though he grazed the shoulder of his dauntless pursuer, Mr. Low having lessened his distance, fired his remaining pistol, and mortally wounded the peasant. With assistance he captured his other assailant, and brought him to trial at the next Assizes, when he was capitally convicted and executed.

Such was only one of Mr. Low's extraordinary escapes. "Many a romance greater than ever fiction invented, has been acted in Ireland," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, in his speech on the Coercion Bill, and certainly if the adventures of the late George Bond Low, of the County of Cork, were duly chronicled, it would be seen that in defence of law and order, there have been performed more gallant exploits by a County of Cork Magistrate, unknown to any but local fame, than have ever been achieved against the law by Mr. Harrison Ainsworth's *exalted* heroes, Messrs. Turpin, Sheppard, and Co.

Mr. Low was not exactly an estated pro-

prietor, but neither was he a middleman; his lands were laid out for pasture rather than tillage. His obnoxiousness arose simply from the determined manner with which he confronted all evil doers. He was a very strong Conservative, and took rather a prominent part in publishing his opinions, but his politics were, if any, only a slight ingredient in rendering him unpopular. He was an honest bigot, and there was nothing sour or cramped in his nature; on the contrary, his deportment was frank and amiable. There was a heartiness in his manners towards Catholics, as well as Protestants, and he had many a decided O'Connellite amongst his staunch private friends. He weighed some eighteen stone, kept most powerful horses, and rode very forward to the well-known Duhallow fox hounds, in following which it was always easy to recognise him amongst the most crowded field by his large person, and powerful charger. By the gentry and middle classes of all parties, he was deservedly respected as a frank, open-hearted, fearless country gentleman. But amongst the peasantry and lower classes he was considered the impersonation of legal power, and as he had (though in his own self-defence, and in obe-

dience to the instincts of nature, as well as in discharge of his Magisterial functions) been the cause of many a death, he was held in great odium. Such, alas! is the state of any country when the great mass of the people are in misery—when they know the law oftener by its terrors, than by its mercies.

And yet, mark! one of those sudden changes to which the Irish character is so liable. That very Mr. Low died some five years since amidst the heart-felt regret of all the poor, and the entire peasantry in his neighbourhood! Yet, in the years 1830, 1831, and 1832, he was such an object of popular odium, that when at a crowded meeting at an election, while the people were waiting for the poll to be declared, if any one cried out the well known distice,

> "Three cheers for the man who gave the blow,
> That broke the pate of George Bond Low."

the lines were received with "cheers and laughter," part of the laughter being undoubtedly at the poet's converting a possible future event, into the time of the positive past. It is only right to say, that though Mr. Low never ceased from his activity in upholding the law, he took special care to be distinguished by his

anxiety to do justice to the poorest person, and he had recourse to every justifiable means of conciliating the affections of the peasantry, without abandoning his principles, or crouching to intimidation.

A large number of persons had been arrested as having engaged in this conspiracy, and true bills were found against several of them at two successive Assizes at Cork. But owing to what Mr. Doherty called "untoward circumstances," the cases were not proceeded with. One time application was made for delay by the parties accused, and at another time Chief Baron O'Grady cut short the Assizes, and left a vast number of persons in jail, charged with such dreadful crimes.* Rumours of various kinds then began to be circulated, one of which was, that there was no conspiracy at all, except on the part of the Magistracy against the people! Some outrages took place, and the general state of the country being not very peaceful, agrarian violence having broken out in various parts of Ireland, Government sent down a Special Commis-

* Sir Denham Norreys brought the Chief Baron's conduct before the House of Commons.

sion to Cork, in the month of October, and from the strange reports that had been flying about, all eyes were turned to the Doneraile Conspiracy. Even the English Press took the greatest interest in the matter, and The Times bestowed several "Leaders" upon the subject. But whatever was the immediate interest in the conspiracy, none anticipated that the politics of Ireland would have been so materially influenced by the events that happened at the Special Commission.

The Court was opened with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. Baron Pennefather (the Parke of the Irish Bench) and Mr. Justice Torrens (its ———) were the presiding Judges. Mr. Doherty, then Solicitor General, went down to open the case in person, assisted by Sergeant Goold, Mr. George Bennett, Mr. Greene,* and other able lawyers. Jurors of the first respectability were summoned from all parts of the county, and Grand Jurors were generally put on the long panel. The interest excited in the South of Ireland was most intense; numbers thought that the Con-

* The present Irish Solicitor General.

spiracy was "all smoke," but others believed that a Catilinarian confederacy was in full vigour in the neighbourhood of Doneraile.

On the opening day of the Commission, the Judges merely entered Court *pro formâ*, and entered into some arrangements with the legal gentlemen present. The prisoners had for their Counsel, two young members of the Bar, men of talent and independent character, but not of much experience. O'Connell had been retained at the previous Assizes to defend the accused, and would have done so, but for the improper conduct of Chief Baron O'Grady. Requiring some rest after a year of excessive agitation, he returned to Darrynane, to snatch a brief vacation, and declined to attend the Special Commission. He probably thought that the prisoners would be sufficiently defended, and that the case (whatever was the turpitude of the criminals) would not appear to be of such extraordinary character as to require his presence. Many were most anxious that he should attend; but he declined to do so, and loud murmurs were raised against his conduct by the lower classes. All considerate persons thought it most unreasonable to deprive him of his few holidays; but the friends of the accused

trembled when they learned that O'Connell would not attend.

And well they might have trembled, when they heard the terrific speech of Solicitor General Doherty, in stating the case for the Crown. The prisoners were tried by batches, and the first lot consisted of Leary, Roche, Magrath, and Shine; the first of whom, Leary, was a decent and comfortable farmer, of honest and inoffensive aspect, with an open, prepossessing countenance, and represented to have been the Cataline of the band. These four were put to the Bar; a Jury of men of great respectability having been sworn, Mr. Doherty, with the most imposing and sustained solemnity of manner, rose to open the case for the Crown. As far as eloquence is regarded, his speech was strikingly brilliant. A very high tone was taken, and his language exhibited marks of careful elaboration; the facts were stated with all the artifices of a pompous rhetoric, and the delivery of the speech was even more effective than its matter. The Court House was thronged with the gentry of the County, and its doors besieged with persons of all classes, anxious for admittance. The interest taken by the public in

both countries acted on Mr. Doherty's susceptible mind, and having a grand opportunity for displaying his eloquence, he could not forego the desire of making "a powerful speech." Besides he was himself thoroughly convinced that a dreadful conspiracy existed; he believed that it was his duty to assume a determined tone, and, perhaps unconsciously, he adopted a horrifying one. It is impossible, even at this distance of time, to read that speech without being carried away for a moment by its vehement and incendiary eloquence. It was such a speech as a brilliant rhetorician would make on such an occasion, having first worked up his fancy by a perusal of Sallust's Cataline Conspiracy, and the more fearful parts of the history of French Jacobinism.

Yet there was considerable excuse for Mr. Doherty. It was always the custom in Ireland for the Crown Lawyers to bring all the aids of eloquence to their assistance, and accordingly the State Trials of that country abound in passionate declamation. Mr. Doherty did nothing novel or different from the practice of his predecessors, when he harangued against the prisoners at the Bar, except that he displaye more than ordinary powers of producing effect.

A remark of Lord Dudley, in his Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, indicates the nature of Mr. Doherty's feelings on the occasion of the Doneraile Conspiracy.

"Is there a dangerous spirit, or is there not? Canning says there is, but an eloquent minister is a bad authority upon such a subject. *An alarm is the harvest of such a personage.*" [Letter 29th.]

And so it was with Canning's relation, to whom the Doneraile Conspiracy was a harvest of horror, upon which he declaimed with great spirit. The tone of his opening speech may be gathered from a single specimen:—

"Let us to-day, if the County be traduced, refute the calumny; but if associations exist, whose members, bound by oaths taken in blasphemy, and supported by bloodshed, attempt to domineer *over all that is respectable in the land, you cannot be too speedy and prompt in deciding*, whether you are determined to bow down to the iron tyranny of this *vulgar* despotism, or whether your *proud gentry and noble yeomanry (!)* will rally round each other, and support the laws which, if put into strenuous and determined operation, will be fully sufficient for the most ample redress and reparation."

On a Jury composed of Irish Squires such a hallooing style would naturally produce great effect. The description of Leary by the Solicitor General was most vivid and terrible, and the Press of the Empire, from the *Times* of London, to the *Scotsman* of Edinburgh, expressed a cry of horror at the Irish Conspiracy.

The evidence against the accused consisted chiefly of that supplied by a spy and several approvers, corroborated by the strongest circumstantial proofs. Patrick Daly, the spy, had been for a considerable time in the pay of the Magistracy, and the story he told was similar to that of two approvers, William Nowlan and David Sheehan, who were, by their own admissions, ruffians of the deepest dye. The story was, that a conspiracy had been, for a long time, hatched against the Magistracy—that Admiral Evans was to be murdered, because he had spoken in Parliament against the Catholics—that Mr. Creagh was to meet the same fate, because he had rendered himself obnoxious, and that Mr. Bond Low, on account of his character as a Magistrate, was to be deprived of his life. The witnesses all deposed that Leary was the "Captain" of the whole

party, and was the leading man in the Conspiracy, and that in a tent at the fair of Rathclare, he produced a paper (which he got several persons to sign) with an agreement to murder the three Magistrates before mentioned; and further, that a debate took place on the propriety of murdering other obnoxious gentlemen, whose names were introduced, but whose cases were left as, what might be termed, "open questions."

The tale as it was told was very horrible, but it obtained a damning consistency from the corroborative evidence of the magistrates and their friends. Thus it was proved beyond all doubt that persons in the service of Mr. Low, and one of the other magistrates, received warning of what was intended—that Mr. Low's steward was warned not to go to the Fair of Kildorrery with his master on a certain day—that he gave his master this information beforehand—and that Mr. Low (disregarding it) was fired at most punctually by some assassins. It was also proved that notice had been given that Mr. Creagh's carriage would be fired at on a certain night, and on that very night the carriage of Dr. Norcatt, who was not obnoxious to the peasantry, was, from its similarity, mista-

ken for Mr. Creagh's; a party attacked it, and although the carriage was riddled in eleven different places, Dr. and Miss Norcatt fortunately escaped, the servants on the box seat having been severely wounded. Many other circumstances corroborated the story of the approvers, but plausible as was the whole tale, it was rather overdone in parts; as for example, the approvers narrated how some of the conspirators calculated quite coolly, that if Mr. Batwell of Charleville were shot, Mr. Clanchy of the same place would give a hundred, or two hundred pounds for his murder; the fact being that Mr. Clanchy was one of the most amiable and benevolent men in the whole community, and that it was nearly incredible that shrewd Irish peasants would imagine a County Magistrate of Mr. Clanchy's rank in society, would pay for having his brother Magistrate murdered. But these exaggerations (for such they were looked on) made little impression on the Jury. The Counsel for the prisoners were unable to "break down" the evidence for the Crown; the witnesses for the defence were ruinous to those who summoned them; the picture of society in the neighhourhood of Doneraile, as given by a Roman Catholic Magistrate, called

by the accused, was most frightful, and in five minutes the Jury brought in a verdict of guilty against the four prisoners, who were sentenced for execution within a week.

It would be vain to picture the horror that spread through the County, when it was found that the Doneraile Conspiracy was no hoax—that four men were already sentenced to death —that an entire gang remained for trial—and that fresh informations were actually sworn against others. What added to the feeling of horror, was the comparatively respectable station of some of the conspirators; several of these were comfortable farmers. Leary's case attracted particular attention. He was apparently a most decent person; a hale old man nearly seventy years of age. He paid a rent of £220 per annum to the father of that Mr. Creagh whom it was alleged he intended to murder. The elder Mr. Creagh was summoned to give him a character, and all eyes were turned to the Grand Jury Gallery, as, amidst dead silence, the venerable gentleman pronounced an impressive eulogy on the prisoner at the bar, charged with attempting to murder the son of the witness himself. He knew Leary almost all his life, and had never known any thing bad of

him, except that he used occasionally drink too much. He added that Leary was too simple a man to be trusted with plots. When such evidence was offered, and when an independent and intelligent Jury found a verdict of "guilty" some could only execrate the deep dyed hypocrisy of Leary and his associates; whilst others refused to give credence to a word the approvers swore.

# CHAPTER VII.

## "SET-TO" BETWEEN O'CONNELL AND DOHERTY.

### FIRST FIGHT.—O'CONNELL VICTORIOUS.

"Immisentque manus manibus, pugnamque lacessunt;
Ille, pedum melior motu, fretusque juventâ:
Hic membris et mole valens; ———
——— erratque aures tempora circum
Crebra manus; duro crepitant sub valnere malæ."

ÆNEIDOS. 5, v 430.

TERROR-STRUCK at the fate of the first batch of prisoners, the friends of the accused determined to procure O'Connell's presence. Harsh things were openly said about his refusing to attend, and the attornies for the prisoners despatched a peasant upon horseback to Darrynane, to implore him to come to Cork. The messenger left town on Saturday, and arrived at

Darrynane early on Sunday morning. When O'Connell read the "*slaughtering*" speech of Mr. Doherty, and found that four persons were found guilty on evidence in which his keen and practised eye discerned much rottenness, and when the murmurs of popular displeasure (however unreasonable) fell upon his ear, he resolved to start for Cork at once. On that Sunday it was reported all through Cork that O'Connell would not come at all, and the public saw the prospect of a whole body of men being struck up like sheep, several of whom, there was good grounds for presuming to be innocent. Dismay and terror seized the peasantry, who, influenced by the hazardous position of their comrades, for they had seen the most innocent persons arrested, thronged in great numbers to the City of Cork.

Monday morning (Oct. 26th) came, and there was no sign of O'Connell, and despair seized many a heart, as a fresh batch of prisoners was sent to the Bar to go through the same trials as Leary and his companions. Application was made to stop the trial until O'Connell should arrive, but the Bench could not do so, and Mr. Doherty rose to detail the case to the Jury; he was in the act of holding forth, when a noise like popular

cheering was heard outside the Court House. Was it ——? Yes! it was O'Connell! "Oh, he's come at last, thank God! thank God!" cried many a person. The independent and impartial portion of the public were equally rejoiced, because they were certain that no legal injustice could be committed before him, without his instant detection, and powerful exposure.

He had not been able to leave Darrynane, until the evening before. The roads were very bad, and he travelled the greater portion of the night. For greater expedition he used a light country gig, which he drove himself. He had slept at Macroom for three or four hours, and started off in the morning for Cork, which he did not reach until about ten o'clock. Dressed in his customary green frock, with his broad-brimmed hat, he was discerned by many eyes, eagerly strained in the direction of the Kerry road, and as he whipped the tired brute that drew him, thousands shouted "He's come—he's come—he's come." He drew up in the middle of the City,* and, eager for a legal battle, he *marched*

* He had hardly descended from the vehicle, when the horse fell dead between the shafts.

straight to the Court House, where Mr. Doherty was carrying everything just as he pleased. It is said that when the Solicitor General heard the fearful shouting of the people, and when he was compelled to stop, until O'Connell was borne into Court by an excited body-guard of friends, that for the moment he changed colour. He anticipated a painful defeat in his legal collision with the great agitator.

O'Connell at once bowing to the Judges, and saluting Baron Pennefather with the most marked and respectful courtesy (which was cordially returned) apologized for not having appeared in a more professional costume, and craved permission to refresh himself in Court. A bowl of milk, and some bread and meat were sent into him, and while at either side of him, a young barrister filled each ear with all that had been done, and how the case of the accused stood, O'Connell gratified his appetite for breakfast with evident relish after his long morning drive. 'Twas rather a contrast, the big, massive Agitator slabberring his meal in a Court House, and the graceful, aristocratic Mr. Doherty talking in the most refined manner to the Jury!

What led to the enmity between O'Connell

and Mr. Doherty is not publicly known, but they appeared on that day to be enemies with no ordinary hatred and animosity*. As the Solicitor General laid down a doctrine of law, O'Connell, with a marked contempt, cried out in the middle of his breakfast, "*That's* not law." The Bench was appealed to, and the point ruled with O'Connell, who, as the pugilists say, "drew first blood." The Solicitor-General resumed his statement, but he had not gone much further, when O'Connell jumped up—"The Crown cannot make such a statement as that—it has no right to put in such evidence to the jury," and again the Bench decided with O'Connell. Mr. Doherty's statement of the second case was certainly much less imposing and successful than when, without powerful opposition, he harangued the Jury against Leary and the first batch of prisoners.

The second batch consisted of Connor, Lynch, Wallis, and Barrett, and the witnesses against them were the spy (Patrick Daly) and the approvers, Sheehan, Nowlan, and others. It was the same kind of evidence as the first pri-

* It may, perhaps, have originated in the abuse that the agitator had poured upon the Solicitor General for his conduct in the Barrisokane Trials.

soners were convicted upon. The tale was the same, but the infamous character of the witnesses was laid bare by O'Connell in a cross-examination, never surpassed for dexterity. The witnesses trembled under him, and Nowlan, the most infamous character of the lot, cried out, "Ah! indeed, sir, it's little I thought I'd have to meet you here to-day, Mr. O'Connell!"

Yet powerful as was the impression produced by O'Connell, he failed in shewing that there was not much truth in the narrative of the witnesses. His great success was over the Solicitor General, whom he browbeat and bullied in the most approved forensic fashion. In fact, on all the legal points that were incidentally raised, he knocked about Mr. Doherty with as much ease as a schoolboy slashes a spinning top. The humiliation of the Solicitor General was most complete. On nearly every question raised O'Connell triumphed. His bearing towards Mr. Doherty was even more insulting than his mere legal success. To his face, O'Connell mimicked his manner in the most grotesque way. "You may go down, sir," said Mr. Doherty, waving his hand contemptuously, to one of the prisoners' witnesses, and pronouncing the words in a certain fashionable and aristocratic manner. "Naw!

daunt go daune sir!" cried O'Connell, ludicrously burlesqueing the style of his adversary. Another time, the Solicitor-General said, "The allegation is made upon false facts." "False facts," cried O'Connell, "What a bull! How can facts be false?" The Solicitor replied, "I have known false facts, and *false men, too.*"

All through the trials, a running fire of altercation was kept up, but O'Connell, in virulence, was sure to bear the palm. Mr. Doherty, not being able to match him, either in law or in colloquial wit, vainly sought to shelter himself behind an assumed aristocratic disdain for his enemy. But such was a poor defence in an Irish Court of Law, against the shattering vollies of O'Connell's racy and trenchant humour. Mr. Doherty even seemed to court the attacks of O'Connell, as if he affected to deride them:—

> "His haughty spirit scorned the blow,
> That laid his proud ambition low,
> But ah! his looks assumed, in vain,
> A cold, ineffable disdain."

When the Agitator made some very fierce insinuations against the conduct of the Solicitor-General, Mr. Doherty at first let them pass, until one after another, the Crown Counsel

stood up and stated that the Solicitor-General had done nothing without their approval. The Bench then complimented Mr. Doherty, who immediately rose, and said, that proud as he was of the eulogium of the Bench and his brother barristers, he was still more proud (looking scornfully at O'Connell) of the disapprobation of others. It would be impossible to detail the repeated cross-firing between the two legal belligerents, in which the Solicitor-General was evidently worsted.

The Jury, upon the second batch of prisoners, could not agree. They were locked up, and kept from food for a day and a half, and were not discharged until the strongest medical testimony of extreme danger to one of the parties, was given to the Judges. One gentleman, Mr. Edmond Morrough, a Catholic of large fortune, was alone dissentient. He would bring no verdict of "Guilty," upon the evidence of such approvers as Nowlan and Sheehan. The division amongst the Jury was—

| | |
|---|---|
| For acquitting Connors, Lynch, and Barrett - | 9 |
| Against the acquittal of ditto, - - - | 3 |
| For acquitting all, - - - - - | 1 |
| Against ditto, - - - - - - | 11 |

Thus the Crown was baffled for a time, and

great effect was produced by stopping its career. There were still, however, a vast number to be tried, and the fate of many a man was in jeopardy. But O'Connell's "showing up" of the witnesses, and his browbeating Mr. Doherty, were the themes of every tongue.

Now, however, came the turning point of the Commission. The Crown proceeded with a third case, and put John Burke and John Shine to the Bar, offering to the Jury the same evidence as had been given in the previous cases. O'Connell was in the act of cross-examining the spy Patrick Daly, when Baron Pennefather beckoned to him, and handed the informations sworn by the spy before the Magistrates at Doneraile. In these informations not a word was said about the dramatic scene in the tent where Leary swore the parties into the conspiracy, all of which was just then so glibly told in the witness box by the spy. This great discrepancy in the evidence struck the Jury very much, especially when suggested to them by one of O'Connell's best examinations; and a verdict of "Not Guilty" was within an hour pronounced by a Jury upon the same evidence as that on which Leary and others had been found guilty. The Crown then resolved not to

proceed further with the Commission, and loud were the rejoicings of "the people" at the fresh glory of O'Connell, and his complete victory over the Solicitor General, whom he had publicly abused as "long Jack Doherty from Borrisokane."

To make the acquittal of the parties more triumphant, they had been tried by a Jury composed exclusively of Protestants. The Crown and the Prisoners' Counsel availed themselves of the right to challenge. In the second case, the dissentient Juror was a Catholic, and though there were other Catholics on that Jury (amongst others Mr. D. Callaghan, M.P.) the Crown deemed it most prudent that the third Jury should be Protestant.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## SECOND FIGHT.—DOHERTY TRIUMPHANT.

" At non tardatus casu, neque territus heros,
Acrior ad pugnam redit, ac vim suscitat ira ;
*Tum pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus.*
* * *
Creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta."

ÆNEIDOS. 5 v. 453.

O'CONNELL'S triumph over Mr. Doherty was very great, but never was a triumph worse used, and turned to more ill account. Not content with having displayed superior professional talents, and having obtained a verdict in favour of his clients, O'Connell resorted to a

wholesale system of vituperation against the Solicitor-General. He denounced him at various public meetings, and proclaimed his intention of impeaching him at the bar of the House of Commons, where he would do mighty things against "long Jack Doherty." At Youghal he made the broadest insinuations against Mr. Doherty, when he held up to public odium, and with the bad taste, which is a prominent characteristic of O'Connell, at a party-dinner, held for party purposes, he proposed the health of the dissentient juryman, accompanying it with a slavering eulogy on that gentleman, of whom he said, that "The babe yet unborn, would lisp the name of Edward Morrogh." Little, however, did O'Connell suppose that he was bringing down on his head the most galling and insulting chastisement, that one Member of Parliament has ever received at the hands of another.

One of the leading charges against Mr. Doherty was, that he behaved mercilessly to the prisoners, in producing such evidence as that of Patrick Daly against them, when he had reason to disbelieve him. He was also charged with withholding the informations from the

Court*. It was, in short, insinuated and spread generally through the country that Mr. Doherty was a most sanguinary prosecutor—a sort of butchering Crown Lawyer, thirsting for blood. For several months his character lay under the severest imputations unsparingly kept up by the O'Connellite Press, and "long Jack Doherty from Borrisokane" was held up as all that was horrible.

Mr. Doherty's defence was—that no step had been taken in the entire of the Commission without the concurrence of Serjeant Goold, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Greene—three men of known humanity and stainless characters; That he had *not* withheld the informations of Patrick Daly, because, during the trial of Leary and others, those informations were upon the Bench; that neither he, nor the other Crown lawyers rested the case against the prisoners, on the testimony of Daly; that they had investigated the evidence for days beforehand, and were all

* It was Baron Pennefather who sent for the informations to Doneraile, where they had been taken after the first verdict was recorded. The fact was, that Daly's evidence, as a witness before the Jury, might have been dispensed with, without injury to the case of the Crown. He was more useful as a spy than as a witness.

agreed that without the damaged evidence of Daly, there was ample ground for convicting Leary and his alleged confederates; that the corroborating evidence of Dr. Norcott, Mr. Bond Low, and Mr. Creagh incontestably proved the existence of a wide spread conspiracy; and finally, to show that he and his brother Counsel had not erred in their opinions of the guilt of the parties, at the Assizes succeeding the Commission, a fresh batch of prisoners was tried; the former approvers, Nowlan and David Sheehan were not produced, nor was Daly the spy put in the witness box, yet evidence exactly *of the same kind* was offered to the Jury; Daniel Sheehan, another approver, was brought forward, who deposed *exactly to the same facts as Nowlan, Daniel Sheehan, and Daly swore to,* and upon evidence equally tainted and less strong, than that brought forward at the Special Commission, Patrick Lynch was found *guilty* of having been a Doneraile Conspirator.

Such was the outline of Mr. Doherty's defence; but he could not induce O'Connell to redeem the pledge of bringing the case before Parliament. The fact appeared to be, that O'Connell, on second thoughts, was most

anxious to back out of the charges he had publicly made against the Irish Solicitor-General. Openly, before Parliament, Mr. Doherty taunted him in the most contemptuous style; he derisively sneered at the great agitator for skulking from an encounter with him, where they might meet face to face. But O'Connell took many a taunt to provoke him to a "set-to" in the House of Commons. He knew the advantage which the coolness, imposing manner, and aristocratic bearing of Mr. Doherty would obtain in Parliament; he felt that it was a very different place from the Corn Exchange, or a Repeal Dinner at Youghal, and if he had been permitted, he would have declined to bring forward a semblance of a charge against Mr. Doherty.

The manly course for O'Connell would have been, to have retracted the charges publicly, as he was half inclined to do in private, but the Solicitor-General, who, probably, cared much less for the charges that O'Connell had made, than he thirsted for an opportunity of "paying off" the Agitator, for having bullied and browbeat him at Cork, would on no account have any compromise, and week after week during the session of 1830, the House of Commons

witnessed Mr. Doherty rise, and with the most caustic bitterness, dare O'Connell to bring forward any charge against him. The latter staved off the evil day as long as he could. One time he fixed the motion for a Wednesday, when there was no House; another time, he fixed it for the Easter holidays, but at length goaded to the combat, he gave notice for the 12th of May, but alas! the impeachment which he had roared about in Ireland, had dwindled to a motion for the Judge's notes.* The English Members of Parliament of both sides of the House felt that this was not fair to the Solicitor-General; when they found O'Connell shrinking from bringing forward the heavy charges he had made against that functionary in Ireland, while speaking to the popu-

* That is, he gave notice of a motion to which the House could not possibly assent, without constituting itself a Court of Appeal on all criminal trials. Mr. Doherty boasted in the House of Commons that he admitted all the facts which the notes of Baron Pennefather could possibly supply, and he then charged O'Connell with making his motion merely for the purpose of backing out of the discussion, on the ground that he had been refused the necessary evidence. "I curiously watch," said the Solicitor General, "every stone of the bridge that my adversary so ingeniously lays down for the purpose of running a way."

lace. However, the discussion took place, when O'Connell artfully made a very quiet speech in bringing his motion forward, and abstained from making any open charge against the Solicitor-General, whose long deferred triumph was at hand.

When he sat down, Mr. Doherty rose, and cautiously preserving a cool and gentlemanly demeanour—without using a single word or phrase for which he was liable to be called to order, delivered against the renowned agitator, a speech of the most poignant bitterness. So much polite venom was, perhaps, never uttered in Parliament. The harshness of the insinuations against O'Connell was carefully veiled in conventional phraseology, but the criminatory character of the whole speech, with its jeering, scoffing, jibing tone, and its contemptuous insolence, have never been surpassed even by the most approved masters of Parliamentary Billingsgate. It was certainly the greatest laceration O'Connell ever received. The stinging sarcasms of Lord Stanley, and the philippics of *The Times* were far surpassed in caustic personality by Solicitor General Doherty. It was a speech under which O'Connell winced, and the laurels he had gained at

the late Special Commission were considerably tarnished by Mr. Doherty's triumph over him in the House of Commons.* Not one member of the Bar supported him, and Mr. North, an Irish barrister, crowed over the prostrate Agitator in a most amusing way. "In Ireland, the honorable and learned gentleman had spoken with the stentorian voice of a full grown Irish giant, but in that House he resembled the baby who lisped the name of Edward Morrogh! In one country he was like the monarch of the woods, but in the other he "aggravated his voice, and roared like any sucking dove." To add to Mr. Doherty's triumph, Mr. Callaghan, the Member for Cork, told the House that he had been on the second Jury, and "that he felt bound to bear his testimony to the propriety of the course pursued by the Solicitor-General."† On all points

* On the previous evening, Mr. Doherty made use of even stronger language. On both occasions, his manner was more galling than his matter. The conclusion of his defence, in which he alluded to his constant support of Emancipation, was extremely eloquent.

† O'Connell lost his temper under Mr. Doherty's attacks, and in attempting to reciprocate their sarcastic severity he became coarse, frothy, and out of order.

he was beaten, not a single lawyer supported him, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General for England, both defended Mr. Doherty's conduct.

There can be no doubt that O'Connell's Parliamentary reputation received a very heavy blow on that occasion. The reckless and unscrupulous manner in which he had assailed Mr. Doherty, and the evident anxiety to run away from a contest with that gentleman in the House of Commons, made a very injurious impression against him, even amongst the Liberal politicians, many of whom were, thereupon, disposed to receive *cum grano* his assertions concerning the Irish Government. It was well remarked at the time by Mr. Fonblanque, when commenting on Mr. Doherty's fierce invective,—"Idle and unbecoming as was this irrelevant countercharge, it should serve to show Mr. O'Connell how large a handle he furnishes to his enemies by *the length and looseness* of his tongue. Nothing more impairs a public man's authority, than a character for *unscrupulous* exaggeration."

In concluding this account of the Doneraile Conspiracy, it may be well to indicate the most

remarkable circumstances in that extraordinary investigation :—

1. That a formidable conspiracy existed in the neighbourhood of Doneraile, but it was exceedingly difficult to convict upon the testimony of most depraved characters.

2. The facility with which the first Jury found Leary and others guilty, and the readiness of the second Jury (with one dissentient) to convict upon similar testimony.

3. The promptness with which the third Jury acquitted, merely on the discrepancy of Daly's evidence.

4. The proneness to disbelieve, in the fact of a conspiracy at all, exhibited by the greater portion of the public in the South of Ireland, incredulity being confined principally to those professing popular politics.

5. The *certainty* of the Conspiracy proved by the conviction at the Assizes subsequent to the Commission, when all public and popular excitement had died away.

Yet for that conspiracy, the Government hung none of the convicted parties, and, but for O'Connell's arrival, it is probable that at least a half dozen would have been sent to the

gallows. Leary and the other convicts were transported for life, and several of the accused were discharged.

Nothing ever raised O'Connell's character for forensic ability more than his defeat of the Government Prosecutions in the case of the Doneraile Conspirators, and probably nothing ever damaged his character with English politicians more than his subsequent conduct to Mr. Doherty—his wholesale imputations against that gentleman, with his anxiety not to give him any opportunity of clearing his character.

The real charge to which Mr. Doherty was obnoxious, was the character of his opening speech ; but, as it has before been observed, he was only following the bad custom of the Irish, Crown Lawyers. Such displays of inflammatory rhetoric were more pernicious then than now, when the Counsel for prisoners are permitted to address the Jury.

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# CHAPTER IX.

## THE AGITATOR'S POSITION IN 1830.

"Precipitate censure, cast on a political institution, recoil on the head of him who casts them. From such attacks it is not the institution that can suffer. X X He that is resolved to persevere without deviation in the line of truth and utility, must have learned to prefer the still whisper of enduring approbation to the short lived bustle of tumultuous applause."

JEREMY BENTHAM.

THAT O'Connell was urged to continue strenuously his agitation for Repeal by the position he occupied in political life is very probable. Amongst English politicians he was not received with the enthusiasm of which he had been the object in Ireland. His character for wholesale imputations, "for an unbridled

tongue," and his adhesion to the ultra-democratic party, necessarily deprived him of the confidence or sympathy of the Whigs. The English Liberals did not understand a man of democratic principles, inveighing in the style of a Spanish friar against the Liberals of France, whom he abused with his accustomed scurrility. A very decided distrust of his objects and principles began to be felt throughout the English Liberal party of all shades, and notwithstanding his profuse adulation of Jeremy Bentham, the Utilitarians soon found out that he was not fitted to be the apostle of the "Gospel, as revealed by Mill."

Those Liberals, however, who took their faith entirely from Cocker—with whom the "sum total of the whole" was the test for distinguishing good from evil and truth from falsehood, found that O'Connell was remarkably quick at calculations—nay! that he could use statistics—that he was no mawkish sentimentalist, but that he shewed symptoms of a strong faith in arithmetic; and accordingly Joseph Hume, who in those days possessed some influence in England and the Parish of Marylebone, bestowed his alliance upon O'Connell.

His Parliamentary ability, though it was

very striking in its way, did not realise the expectations of many who were predisposed by their prejudices to give him their admiration. As a mere speaker, he disappointed the House of Commons. At public meetings he obtained shouts of applause; but in Parliament, on topics where one would have expected to find him powerful, such as constitutioual and strictly legal questions, he did not *tell*, and the common place character of his views struck, with surprise, those who had very unreasonably expected him to throw new light on jurisprudence, and political philosophy. It was pretty evident that he had never deeply reflected on the profound problems of legal science, and that his constitutional Liberalism was of that kind peculiar to an able *nisi prius* lawyer, who had strong personal prejudices in favour of popular government. The philosophical spirit of Burke could no more be distinguished in his speeches in Parliament, than the comprehensive induction and historical acquirements of a Charles Fox. Those who recollected the power with which Plunket closed upon Mackintosh and Brougham, in their collisions on constitutional law, were not much dazzled by O'Connell's legal replies to the Parliamentary lawyers.

Indeed, he made no way until the popular excitement on the Reform Bill had penetrated to the House of Commons, and then he undoubtedly made a very powerful speech, in which, however, *ad captandum* arguments were altogether relied on. It was said that he wanted the excitement of a party to make him eloquent; but Henry Flood had been just as solitary in the British House of Commons, as O'Connell was at that time, and Flood's speech for Reform, in 1791, is one of the greatest speeches ever made in Parliament. Besides, success in Parliament consists not in bringing down thundering cheers, but in constantly obtaining the sustained attention of the House of Commons. For example, in a Parliamentary, but not in a *platform* sense, Mr. Roebuck obtains more success than Mr. Sheil, notwithstanding the vehement applause which greets the perorations of the Member for Dungarvan.

It was now perceived that to sustain his political greatness, O'Connell should rely upon his popularity outside Parliament. He appeared to feel himself that a deliberative assembly was not the sphere in which his ambition could reap the greatest harvest. He was matchless when he spoke in presence of "the people," but in

St. Stephens he could not escape the comparison with those master-spirits of other times, who have raised the intellectual character of oratory, which with them was an art for guiding the reason, rather than exciting the passions. Besides his inflammatory eloquence was not the effusion of a sublime soul thrilled with ardent emotions: it was more like the professional vehemence of a retained advocate. He had even less of the inspiration of Chatham and Henry Grattan, than of the profundity and acquirements of Burke and Fox. A chaffering and contentious spirit pervaded all his speeches, and the democratic principle as expounded by O'Connell, was not invested with any higher moral grandeur, than is shewn in the censorious writings of William Cobbett.

When he pledged himself to Universal Suffrage, a motion for which he brought forward in 1830, it was evident that the Whigs could not "back him up" in the House of Commons. The Benthamite party quickly ascertained that he would not answer their views; the English Catholics had not much political power, but even that little they were not disposed to give O'Connell. With the masses of England, he was likely to gain influence, but not with

the men who wielded those masses. His attack on the French Liberals, who were then oppressed by the priest-ridden Government of Charles the Tenth did him great injury throughout England, not so much for the attack itself, as for the weapons he made use of. The English Liberals could not see, without surprise, O'Connell raising the old war whoop of "Atheism and Infidelity" against men seeking for the political rights of citizens. The charges were recklessly brought forward, and were altogether untenable, but the spirit in which they were made, caused more feelings of displeasure throughout the entire Liberal party, than even the charges themselves. Thus in 1830, O'Connell had not the confidence either of—

1. The Whigs.
2. The Radicals—Utilitarians.
3. The French sympathisers.
4. The English Catholics.

And he had to bear up against the cordial hatred of the Tory and Conservative parties in both countries. His strength lay wholly in Ireland; in English politics, he was thought of principally as a demagogue and unrivalled popular speaker. It was not until the year

1833, that he became a *puissance* in Parliament. His "Tail" then added considerably to his personal consequence, and in his gallant battle against the Coercion Bill, he manifested debating powers that won admiration from his adversaries.

From this brief retrospect it can be easily inferred that whatever Government was formed in Ireland, in the year 1830, would meet O'Connell's hostility, and that his game was, to continue the Repeal Agitation, and, if possible, make it take the place of the Catholic Question.

# CHAPTER X.

## CHIEF SECRETARY STANLEY.

CORIAL. "Why did you wish me milder? Would you have me
False to my nature? Rather say I play
The man I am.

MENENIUS. Come, come, you have been too rough, something too rough;

VOLUMNIA. Pr'ythee now,
Go,—and be ruled; although thou hadst rather
Follow thine enemy in a fiery gulf,
Than flatter him in a bower.
CORIOLANUS. Act 3, Scene 2.

WHEN the Whigs entered upon office, in 1830, Ireland was under the influence of a general disappointment. The liberal Tories were vexed that agitation did not subside on the concession of the Catholic claims, and the High Tories were in dudgeon because "the Duke" and Sir

R. Peel had betrayed them. The "people" were unanimously disappointed. Emancipation had left them in their state of beggary and wretchedness; their miserable cabins were as dreary and desolate as ever, and they had not an additional bit of food to give their hungry children. The Magistrates were as haughty, and the Landlords as grasping as before..

The Marquis of Anglesey was chosen Lord Lieutenant, and the Duke of Wellington said at the time "that he was the unfittest person that could have been selected." And the Duke said rightly; not because the Marquis was deficient in capacity for the office, but that from former circumstances he was not the man who should again have been sent to Ireland. He, who had used the words, "agitate, agitate, agitate!" was likely to be brought into collision with those who would justify themselves by his former advice. Undoubtedly he *had been* very powerful in Ireland, and had many friends there, but the popularity of an Irish Lord Lieutenant is not worth a month's purchase. He had one genuine qualification for the office, and that was an earnest desire to do good to the country. No Englishman ever loved the Irish people more than Lord Anglesey.

Mr. (now Lord) Stanley was his Chief Secretary.

In some respects a better appointment than that of Mr. Stanley could not have been made. He had most of the requisite talents for office; firmness—decision—great facility in mastering details—and a powerful, penetrating mind were amongst his qualities. Besides he had a strong love of labour, and was no mere *dilettanti*. statesman of the Keepsake school. He had already displayed remarkable talents for debate, and had been complimented in an unusual degree by the first members in the House of Commons.

In one important respect he was unfitted for the office of a Chief Secretary for Ireland; his temper was reserved and dictatorial, and he had not the art of concealing his disgust at the servile persons who beleaguer Dublin Castle. He was less of a popularity-hunter than had ever gone to Ireland, and never was a minister less willing to employ the baser arts of conciliation. His proud and rather moody disposition injured him in the estimation of the Irish, who like to see a Chief Secretary bow, smile, and push condescension to excess. He could not "buss the stones" and go before the people

with "bonnet in his hand." He had too much lofty self-respect to

> "———— mountebank their loves,
> Cog their hearts from them, and come home belov'd
> Of all the Trades in DUBLIN."

He neither would, nor could, resort to those agreeable little artifices by means of which the Mulgrave Administration made itself so popular amongst the Irish Liberal gentry and middle classes. There was nothing theatrical, or dazzling in his deportment, He had never practised how to bow with amiable dignity—how to keep an eternal, simpering smile upon his features—how to "Jack and Tom it" with the Irish Nobility. His dinners were "few and far between," but in other respects they were not "like angel's visits;" perhaps his dancing parties were rather serious affairs, and then he never presided at pleasant *pic nic* excursions for the politicians of his party! Indeed, it must be admitted that he was quite incapable of "*doing* the thing" properly in Dublin. He had no sympathy with fashionable frivolity, and he had an austere contempt for dissipation even—when presented under its most amusing and agreeable forms. He could not affect an inte-

rest for comic stories, and he had no appetite for Irish fun. His dress never made the Dublin dandies despair of rivalry, and he had no taste for social display; he would probably have been mortified if the sporting gentry of the Curragh had voted him to be "Oh! such a rattling good fellow." Ah! Lord Stanley was not at all suited for a prominent part in a Vice Regal Administration. Had the seat of the Irish Government been at Belfast or Cork, he might have passed muster; but in Dublin, where coxcombry is a palpable idea*—where patent boots are very important, and where the arts of haberdashery and hair-dressing are elevated to no mean rank in the scale of science—such a man as Lord Stanley could never become permanently popular.†

However, it certainly must be admitted that a more winning style of address, and a some

* VIDE, Mr. Titmarsh, on Dublin dandies, in the very clever and amusing "Irish Sketch Book."

† When Lord Ebrington arrived in Ireland, the Dublin people were AU DESESPOIR as soon as they caught sight of him. The only reason for the immediate coldness towards him was to be found in the universal exclamation, "Why, he's just like a farmer!" But NOTA BENE that Dublin frivolity is no test of social sentiment in the rest of Ireland.

compliance with the Irish social fashions and prejudices would have considerably served Lord Stanley while he resided at Dublin. His noble and truly generous qualities, however blended with pride, would have received more popular appreciation, if he had shewn any desire of pleasing, and captivating the good will of those with whom he had frequently been in contact. All public men in an official capacity, more particularly those in Ireland, should carefully keep in mind the remark of LA BRUYERE—"*Avec de la vertu, de la capacité, et une bonne conduite, l'on peut etre insupportable ; les manières que l' on neglige comme de petites choses sont souvent ce qui fait que les hommes décident de vous en bien ou en mal.*"

Besides the Chief Secretary's confidence in his own talents was, perhaps, too obvious. He governed too much in the "*sic volo, sic jubeo*" style, and for one whose actions were always "*fortiter in re*," it would have been very desirable that his means had been more "*suaviter in modo.*" He was the most dreaded official that had been seen in Ireland since the days of Castlereagh, and the dashing energy, with which he defended his measures in Parliament, encreased the odium produced by his deter-

mined conduct in Dublin Castle. Many there were, who regretted to see such splendid talents producing as much mischief as good. Many there were, who, disapproving of his conduct, and not supporting his government, could not help feeling admiration for his straightforwardness—his avoidance of all crooked policy,—his manly resolution,—and his undeniable anxiety to improve the country. Upon those whose—

> "Souls disdained such narrow-hearted spleen,"
> As owns no excellence beyond a tribe." ——

the vile slanders by which he was assailed, did not make any impression. They knew his character as a landlord, and had learned from the lips of his tenants the true nature of "the tyrant Stanley." Although they did not vote with him, they respected him far more than if he were a rotten-hearted Radical, rack-renting to his tenants, generous in words, penurious in his deeds.

It will be readily confessed by men of all parties, that the precocity of the Chief Secretary's talents for debate, and the surprising vigour with which he confronted O'Connell, night after night, went far to invest the name

of Stanley with a political celebrity, that if fame had been his object, must have considerably atoned to its possessor for the ill omened fortune that waited on his measures, and the unpopularity that attended on his administration. Since the memorable session, when Pitt withstood the assaults of Fox and Burke, and overthrew the Whig party,—nothing had ever been witnessed in Parliament, like Mr. Stanley's early display of declamatory energy, combined with the skill, readiness, and self-reliance of a first-rate Parliamentary Debater.

During the struggles attendant on the Reform Bill, scarcely a night passed in which, upon an English or Irish question, he did not fail to exhibit such political powers, as justified Lord Spencer in exclaiming "The days of Pitt and Fox had come again!" He was ready for every combatant, and it could never have been said that he was worsted in any of his encounters:—

> "Not fierce and terrible
> Only in strokes; but with thy grim looks, and
> The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds,
> Thou mad'st thy enemies shake, as if the world
> Were feverous and did tremble."

O'Connell's powers were strained to the uttermost in abusing him, but the severity of the Irish Chief Secretary's replies would have crushed any other person except the Agitator, who was content to writhe and brood over his revenge. Mr. Croker, roused by the occasion, displayed talents that had lain dormant while he occupied a seat on the Ministerial Benches; but though no Tory, in either House of Parliament, defended the old Borough System with greater doggedness and ingenuity, Lord Stanley obtained, on more than one occasion, a marked triumph over the eloquent Ex-Secretary to the Admiralty. The racy earnestness of his natural eloquence was a delightful contrast to the elaborate and artificial style of Sir Robert Peel, and the House often admired the doubtful combat for superiority in debate, between the wary coolness and practised plausibility of a trained disputant on the one side, and the instinctive perception and youthful energy of a natural orator upon the other. Mr. Sheil's melo-dramatic philippics, though ingeniously constructed, and often containing some telling points, fell comparatively harmless on the Chief Secretary, who never required time for the

composition of his speeches, or the meditation of his replies.*

But his haughty honour, and his excitable disposition, unfitted him in many serious respects for the government of Ire-

* Perhaps no quality in Lord Stanley's eloquence is more deserving of notice than its natural and spontaneous character. No Parliamentary orator has ever exhibited his Saxon simplicity of style. In spirit, Charles Fox was an admirable representative of the old English character, he had the frank and downright deportment of a Briton ; in the earnestness of his eloquence, and in his dislike of all the false glare of rhetoric---in his preference of the reasoning to the declamatory style he was eminently English, but his diction was of a very mixed character, produced by his excessive partiality for the French Theatre and his familiarity with Italian Literature. His great antagonist, Mr. Pitt---his still greater contemporary, Burke---his friend, Sheridan---were all partial to a glowing pomposity of diction inconsistent with the austere purity of a genuine English style. Lord Brougham descanted, in his inaugural address at Glasgow, upon the necessity of having recourse to the early works of English Literature, but he has not practiced what he taught. A few traditionary sentences of Lord Chatham bear the genuine Saxon stamp, but the whole style of his oratory was illusive and theatrical. Lord Stanley is almost the only English orator who is not classical in his illustrations and language. This homebred and racy simplicity is the strongest characteristic of his speeches, considered as literary compositions. One can easily deduce from his mere diction, even if the fact were not otherwise known, that Shakspeare, and the old Divines form his favorite reading.

land, where flattery and vituperation are alternately used to cajole or intimidate a minister. For though it was impossible to wheedle him by sycophancy, or to frighten him by abuse, he was prone to chafe at the excessive artifices of the Irish gentry, and the unprincipled denunciation of the demagogues. When the agitators and the Dublin press discharged upon his character the dregs of their virulence, he did not receive the visitation with the *sang-froid* that a Peel or Melbourne would have exhibited under similar circumstances. He was not intimidated but irritated, and the purpose of his enemies was served. His government of Ireland was one long broil with the Irish people. Never did any Chief Srecretary effect more positive good, and more indirect evil for that country, and never was any Irish official more unpopular.

He was the first Irish Minister who smote the Orange Party to the ground. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Plunket had failed in the attempt to crush the Orangemen. In putting an end to the Orange Processions, and vigorously directing the whole force of the Executive against those illegal societies, he accomplished one of the greatest advantages that Ireland has received.

He was the first Irish Minister who took means to prevent the packing of Juries. Lord Morpeth, and Sir Michael O'Loghlen only trod in the *route* which Lord Stanley had struck out.

He established the system of National Education, on a wise and equitable basis, and boldly confronted the unreasoning bigotry of the fanatical clergymen of both religions. By this measure he extinguished the system of proselytizing, that had been the bane of society in Ireland.

He was the first Irish Minister who grappled with the evil of an overgrown Church Establishment, and though he did not go so far as was desirable, he considerably reduced the number of Protestant Bishops, and brought the Establishment within more reasonable dimensions.

Perhaps more than any other Minister he devoted his attention to the physical resources of the country. Under his auspices the Irish Board of Works was established—the means of intercourse between various parts of the country were improved and enlarged, and the Shannon Navigation was taken up by Government.

He was the first Irish Minister who did not allow the Irish Bench or Bar to bully him.

When Baron Smith's conduct was brought before Parliament, the speech of Mr. Stanley was read with dismay by the Irish Judges "of the right sort."

The fashion is prevalent amongst many of the Liberal party to denounce Lord Stanley as the cause of all the evil that existed in Ireland in the years 1831 and 1832. But from what has been previously said, any fair person may perceive that the Irish popular party, while led by O'Connell, was anxious to attack the policy of the Government under any circumstances.

Reasoning after the event, it is very easy to point out mistakes that Lord Stanley committed. For example it is said that he should have taken O'Connell and the agitators into his confidence; but those who speak thus, forget that the leading rule of Lord Grey's Cabinet was to have no side at all in Ireland—not to affect the good will of either party, and to strive to govern the country by means of mingling the officials of both parties; in fact, the Anglesey Government was to be a continuation of Lord Wellesley's Administration. Such was the rule laid down, and a most injurious one it was. Never was a means taken

for making an Irish Administration more unpopular, than that of affecting the good will of no particular party. Lord Stanley came in for his full share of the unpopularity that was sure to be attendant on such a system of Government.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE ANGLESEY ADMINISTRATION.

"The importance of succeeding was equally great to Europe, to our country, to our party, to the present age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed were in no degree proportionable to the end."

BOLINGBROKE'S Letter to Windham.

"In short, the instruments through which the liberal measures of a Liberal Government are to be carried into effect are anti-liberal. How is it possible that such a system can work harmoniously or beneficially? Far, rather, would I have a Tory Government, acting avowedly with Tory agents, than a liberal Government, *neutralised, checked,* and *thwarted* by those who ought to be the main sources of its efficiency."

Lord DURHAM'S Speech at Glasgow.

THE state of European Politics, when the Grey Ministry was called to power, gave to the Irish Repeal Agitation a more dangerous character than it would otherwise have attained. Poland was fighting gloriously against Russia; the Belgians were rending the legislative connec-

tion with Holland; Kingcraft and Priestcraft had received throughout the Continent a "heavy blow and great discouragement." The revolutionary element had again entered into political affairs, but unlike its extraordinary manifestations in 1793, it assumed *national* rather than *social* purposes.

In such circumstances, it should naturally have been the object of an Irish Viceroy to strengthen, by all constitutional means, the connection with England. It was evident that the union between the two countries was weak as regarded what has been called "the lower nation of Ireland."* To connect the ambition of the Catholics with English objects, and thoroughly Imperialize their social respectability, was the obvious course for a judicious Governor of Ireland.

Although the Dublin Tories, smarting under the concession of the Catholic claims, muttered against England, and began to threaten a junction with the Repealers, a statesman of penetration might have seen the emptiness of their swaggering language, and the hollowness of their selfish and splenetic nationality. So long as they were not united with their Catholic brethren, they were more furious than

* Vide, Page I.

formidable, and the Empire was quite safe from their attacks, although undoubtedly they were able to add much to the turmoil which has become nearly habitual to Irish politics. Except when acting under the Imperial authority of Britain, the High Tories of Ireland are able to do nothing except raise clouds of dust, and stun all Christian ears with a "No Popery" din. It is truly fortunate for the permanency of the Empire that they form a small portion of the Upper Irish Nation, although by their own statement, one would suppose them to constitute a large majority thereof.

In such circumstances the object of British Statesmanship should have been to have raised a large interest, liberal in its views, and Imperial by its predilections. To make a vigorous Imperial Whig party should have been Lord Anglesey's ruling purpose, and he should have dealt with the Tories merely as a constitutional opposition.

At that time there were very many Irish politicians, who were anxious that a Whig party should be formed as a lasting depository of constitutional principles. They were anxious to see a Liberal interest, not merely powerful against the rule of the Government, but against

the rebellion of the populace. They were desirous that a party should be formed whose energy would depend not upon the lives of its leaders "nor fluctuate with the intrigues of the Court, or with capricious fashions amongst the people." They wished (and it is important to remark this fact) that such a party should not have been a tame, spiritless imitation of the Whiggery at Brooke's, and they, perhaps hardly contemplated that its elements should ever be blended with the chaotic Liberalism of the Reform Club. They were desirous that it should have a strong Irish expression—that it should bear the stamp of its nativity, and as Mr. Woulfe expressed it, that it should be "racy of the soil." They were most certainly not West Britons. As they disapproved of the turbulence of the O'Connellite partisans, so they did loathe all "low, pimping politics," and they preferred that their ambition, which was of a noble and generous strain, should be baulked of its legitimate objects, than that it should succeed by servility and sycophancy, or by refusing all sympathy with the feeling of Nationality in any form.

They heartily loved their countrymen, and though they thought the majority of them

misled by their popular leaders, they felt deeply for their misery and wretchedness. Aye! and they well knew that a great part of Irish suffering is not merely physical—that much of it springs from "the proud man's contumely"—and that sources of moral affliction lie deep in the Irish heart. They knew well that the feelings of Ireland found no genuine expression in the systematic scurrility of the self-styled Patriots of the Corn Exchange, or no sympathy with the dreary and chilling Utilitarianism of the West Britons. They knew, not by deduction, but by sentiment, how "alien" the spirit of progression and improvement has been made to appear in Irish eyes, by means of the conceited Cockneyism, and phlegmatic indifference of the vast body of English officials, who, by the most mistaken policy, are permitted to fill nearly all the appointments in Ireland.

The views entertained on Irish politics by that party, will be unfolded in another part of this work, but it cannot be too strongly stated, that though they were Irish in their attachments and affections, they were Imperialist in their politics. They did not wish, after the fashion of those who repeat the cuckoo cry, "assimilate! assimilate! assimilate!" that the

idea of IRELAND should be obliterated in the development of the British Empire. In their opinions, to *Imperialise* and to *Anglicise* were very different things. Well acquainted with their country, they knew that it has become almost as great a question "*How* to do it?" as "*What* is to be done?" They saw that English rulers had made serious mistakes, and had fatally retarded the growth of mind and march of civilization in Ireland, by their ignorance of "the How."

Many of this party are now no more—some of them have retired from public life, others of them, who became disgusted when "The Tail" was called into existence, joined the Conservatives at an early period after the Reform Rill, and some of them have been hopelessly swamped in the muddy torrent of O'Connellism. But when Lord Anglesey went to Ireland as Viceroy of a Whig Ministry, they really formed a highly creditable party. Its members are now to be found in connection with opposite bodies, though at one time they were apparently agreed upon public questions. Amongst those who were driven by the violence of antagonism into the Conservative party, was Mr. Henry Lambert, of Carnagh, a Catholic gentleman,

who was a decided loss to the Whigs. Too independent, as well as too intellectual, to submit to the mind-debasing bondage of the Corn Exchangers, after having fought many a spirited battle in the ranks of Irish Liberalism, he was defeated by the O'Connellites of Wexford, and is now in private life.

Lord Anglesey, however, determined to have no party alliance in Ireland, and to govern upon what is called the impartial plan, that is, of having two formidable oppositions, vying who shall excel the other in vindictive assaults upon the government. It was melancholy to see such a gallant nobleman, with generous purposes, become the object of universal unpopularity. Frank—generous—confiding—and accessible; gay, hospitable, and most liberal without ostentation—a military hero with a princely heart, and never equalled (even by Thomas Drummond) in an earnest desire to benefit the Irish people, for whose misery he felt with almost a womanly tenderness, the Marquis of Anglesey was pelted by the Catholic populace, in the streets of Dublin, and was violently abused, without intermission, by the Protestant press of Ireland!

Surely—surely—there must have been some

mismanagement? Let us examine some of the details of his administration, remembering that it existed during the Reform Era!

In Ireland, the appointments are always indicative of the views of Government. On Lord Anglesey's entrance on the Vice Royalty in 1830, the Chief Baron O'Grady sent in his resignation. He was a quaint joker—a shrewd and old-fashioned wit, with a vein of dry humour. As a Judge, he enjoyed a plebeian popularity, for, with equivocal good nature, he took great sport in baffling the Crown Lawyers. He was, perhaps, the least dignified person that ever sat upon the Bench; but he was proud of being so queer a character. He had a vile, County Limerick brogue, which apparently he took much pains to exaggerate. He was a frolicsome *farceur*, whose antics and broad jokes would have been endurable in a Tavern, but were very disgusting on the Bench of Justice.

By a clause in the Act of Union, introduced at the special request of the aristocracy, it is provided that an Irish Peerage cannot be created, until after the extinction of three others. Thus, there have been only half a dozen Irish Peerages (or thereabouts) made since

1801. In 1830, the Crown had an opportunity of making a new Irish Peer, and if the Wellington Cabinet had continued in power, the honour (?) would have been conferred upon Mr. James Daly, of Dunsandle, but that gentleman had no claims on the Whigs, and accordingly Chief Baron O'Grady, on his retirement from the Bench, was created Viscount Guillamore.

However, it is only fair to say that it was then considered that the Peerage was bestowed not so much for any services which the retired Chief Baron had performed (he had been thrice brought before Parliament) but because his son, Colonel Standish O'Grady, was a very steadfast Whig, and had married the niece of Lord Anglesey.

Now, when the Whig Government went so far to compliment its supporters by the ties of kindred, it was not unreasonably supposed that it would also have recognised the claims arising from the ties of party.

There were then at the Liberal Bar, four men in the first rank of the Profession. Mr. Wallace—Mr. Perrin—Mr. O'Loghlen, and Mr. Holmes, besides others who stood high, though of a secondary rank.

For the vacant Chief Baronship, the Anglesey Government selected Mr. Joy, whose character has been previously described, and for the vacant Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas (Lord Norbury had just retired)—it chose—Mr. John Doherty!

The moment that O'Connell's dire enemy was elevated to one of the first places in Ireland, it was quite idle for Lord Anglesey to make fine flattering speeches to the Irish democracy. The odium which attended "Long Jack Doherty from Borrisokane," was transferred to his Vice Regal Patron. The Tories were in the greatest glee, and regarded the appointment as a vigorous anti-O'Connellite demonstration of the very best sort that could have been given. Those who had known the sort of savage delight with which the Tories had gloated over Mr. Doherty's castigation of O'Connell, were astonished at a Whig Lord Lieutenant nominating such a Chief Justice, especially when it could not be alledged, that Mr. Doherty's rank at the Bar was so high as to entitle him at that time to such an honour. Undoubtedly had he remained at the Bar since, he would have risen into first rate *nisi prius* practice, but at that time, no one could say

that his character as a *lawyer* was high enough for such an eminent office. "If the Government, it was asked, would not appoint a Liberal why not put up Pennefather—Warren—or Blackburne?"

The great obnoxiousness of Mr. Doherty to the mass of the Catholic party, was the popularity that gentleman, by his laceration of O'Connell, had acquired amongst the Irish Tories, who were delighted that some was found to give the Agitator "such a cutting!" and "the lashing" that Mr. Doherty had inflicted upon his formidable opponent, was the theme of constant panegyric amongst all the Tory circles. Indeed he became a hero with the Tory party. A more unpopular appointment could not possibly have been made. *

* It is said that when Sir Robert Peel held power in 1834-5, some attempts were made to induce Mr. Doherty to relinquish the Bench, and enter Parliament again. There can be no doubt that he eminently possesses all the talents for Parliamentary life, and that the Irish Tories have no one who could "talk up" their politics with so much plausibility, fluency, and insinuating address. It is only right to add, that few men are so popular in general society as Mr. Doherty, and that amongst the wide circle of his friends, there are to be found persons of all parties and creeds. In figure and manners, he is nowadays the best specimen of an Irish gentleman.

The reader may now perceive to what consequences the "Doneraile Conspiracy" had indirectly led, and how forcibly the Whig Government was affected by the train of circumstances that resulted from it. The appointment of Mr. Doherty afforded a fertile theme for O'Connell's tongue, and there is so much of partisanship in all Irish politics, that the Agitator soon raised a storm of indignation against Lord Anglesey. The other appointments of the Government were still worse when considered by themselves, and without relation to O'Connell. Thus, when the Bishopric of Cork fell vacant by the death of Dr. St. Lawrence—an event which occurred in the very week after Lord Anglesey became Lord Lieutenant—the Whig Government selected Dr. Kyle, a decided Tory, for the vacant see! Yet there were two eminent Whigs in Trinity College amongst the Senior Fellows, namely, Dr. Sandes, and Dr. Sadleir, the present Provost. The first of those gentlemen was one of the most justly respected Fellows that ever graced by his presence, the bigotted University of Dublin. He had been a Liberal all his life, and subjected himself to much obloquy by his advocacy of the Catholic Claims. He

was one of the Senior Fellows in 1830, and a better Episcopal appointment could not have been made. He never received promotion until Lord Mulgrave came to Ireland.

It was understood that Lord Anglesey was to have held the scales fairly between both parties, and to have shared between them the prizes of office. The public were, however, much surprised when they found that Dr. Lloyd, a Tory, was selected for the Provostship of College, vacant by the elevation of the Tory Dr. Kyle. The appointment of Dr. Lloyd was, however, justifiable by his eminence in the world of Science, and by the good example he set his collegiate brethren, in striving to clear the University from the stigma attached to it as "The Silent Sister." If other Provosts and Fellows had been animated by the zeal and love for Science that characterised Dr. Lloyd, the reputation of Dublin University would be higher in the world. Many educational improvements were introduced under his auspices, and his name must always be held in respect by those who wish for the intellectual advancement of Ireland. It is a gratifying fact that he has left a son who honourably

sustains his father's name for worth of character and research in Science.

The most noticeable circumstance in the public life of Dr. Kyle was, that he had opposed an address from the University of Dublin, to the Marquis of Anglesey, on his departure from Ireland, in 1828. It certainly was *impartial* to make such a gentleman the *first* Bishop of a new Whig Government!

Other legal vacancies were filled up very much to the dissatisfaction of the Liberal Whig party in Ireland. The Attorney-General who succeeded Mr. Joy, was Mr. Blackburne, a very able Lawyer, and a very sly politician. He was in the first rank of his profession, and merited an elevation to the Bench, though, few were less fitted for the office of an Attorney-General to a Whig Government. All his associations and prejudices were Tory, and his political significancy may be estimated from the fact that he was content to serve under Lord Anglesey, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Haddington, or Lord Anybody; yet, this was the gentleman chosen Attorney-General by a Whig Government!

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Crampton, did not offer much gratification to the Liberal party in Ireland. He was a very respectable gentleman—eminent in those days as a Teetotaller—and held a very fair rank in his profession, but in politics, he was a very watery and insipid Whig. His appointment did not counteract the effect produced by the elevation of Joy, Doherty, Blackburne, and Kyle.

The Catholic Bar was noticed by the Government merely to the extent of making Mr. O'Loghlen a Serjeant at Law, and appointing Mr. Woulfe a Crown Prosecutor, on the Munster Circuit. The position occupied by Mr. O'Loghlen in the Profession, may be judged from the fact that in 1829, he realised £6,528. He was a very moderate politician, and his character was altogether free from the spirit of partisanship. Surely the nomination of such a man to the Solicitor-Generalship would have been a more politic act than conferring office upon Mr. Crampton, about whom no large body of the community felt the slightest interest.

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE ANGLESEY ADMINISTRATION.

"It is a serious thing, this studied disunion in Government. What must be the consequence, when the very distemper is made the basis of the Constitution, and the original weakness of human nature is still further enfeebled by art and contrivance?---when the consideration is, not how shall the nation's business be carried on, but how those who ought to carry it on shall circumvent each other?"

BURKE.
Observations on a late state
of the Nation.

FROM the foregoing facts, it will be seen that whilst England had the advantage of a thoroughly Liberal Government—in Ireland the Administration was but nominally Whig, and really carried on in the spirit of Toryism. It is be-

lieved that Lord Stanley had little to do with the objectionable appointments made in 1830-1, although of course he must be held responsible for them.

In fact, although Lord Anglesey professed to give Ireland a Medley Government, he really gave it one in which Toryism predominated. And here let the principle of a Medley Government be examined.

At first sight, it seems fair and plausible to propose to govern a country like Ireland, without the slightest regard to party, but when the principle is sought to be carried out, the impossibility of applying it will be discerned. There cannot be a Medley Government in Ireland upon any equitable principles, and for this reason.

The Irish Whig party, when separated from the masses of O'Connellites and Repealers, is no match for the Irish Tory party, which has a greater proportion, considerably, of the wealth, rank, and professional respectability of the Country.

To place the Whigs upon an actual equality with the Tories, is very unjust and disparaging to the latter, who can easily point to professional celebrities in the proportion of three to

one, as compared with their opponents. If the Whig minority of the Bar still produced men like Curran, or Plunket, whose talents overshadowed the Tory part of the Profession, or if, in social estimation, the two Bars were accounted equal in rank and talent, then perhaps a Statesman would be justified in following the example of Lord Wellesley and his predecessors, and sharing all the appointments equally between the parties.

Besides, a proper Whig Bar is wanted in Ireland, as an antagonism to the Tory nobility and gentry, and nothing will ever make a great Whig Bar, if offices be given to men irrespectively of all political considerations. It is decidedly for the advantage of Ireland (all things duly considered) that there should be a Ministerial, and an Opposition Bar, and it reflects much credit on the penetration of Lord Normanby and Mr. Drummond, that they both understood this principle, and acted upon it. Indeed, they were the first Ministers who boldly carried it out into practice. While they governed, no Conservative, however eminent in his profession, was raised to the Bench. During their rule, unquestionably, the three first men at the Bar were, Messrs. Blackburne,

Pennefather, and Warren, and yet the Bradys, Balls, and Richardses, were promoted over their heads, and the rule laid down by the Government was obviously a proper one, on the understanding that both sides are to act upon it. In fact the system of having an exclusively party Bar, is now a *fait accompli* since the Normanby Government. From the Union down to 1835, the system had been to admit the Medley principle, and it certainly worked detrimentally to the best interests of the country.

But the strongest reason against trying to govern Ireland by a Medley Ministry is to be found in the contrariety of counsels offered to a Lord Lieutenant. Men connected all their lives with opposite interests—having conflicting opinions upon the state of affairs—whose fears are as dissimilar as their hopes—find themselves at the invitation of a nobleman, who is himself, probably, a stranger to Ireland, called upon to give him clear and distinct advice. Men who have never drank the same political toasts, except "The Queen," "The Lord Lieutenant and Prosperity to Ireland," are suddenly seen "pigging together in the same truckle-bed." What else can spring from such a system, but a divided Administration—vacillating counsels—

and an uncertain — hesitating — Executive ? Would it be for the interest of England, if Lords, Palmerston and Aberdeen were both to occupy the Foreign Office, or if Sir James Graham should have Lord Howick for an assistant in the Home Department ? Surely there can be no prompt and vigorous Executive, while it is in the hands of men irreconcileably opposed to each other on questions of momentous interest.

The Irish Whig party (properly so called) is very small, and from the circumstances of the country has but few active supporters, There is, however, a large liberal interest which, though not properly Whig, is, at the same time, not revolutionary in its spirit, and it is upon that powerful, social element, that a Whig Government should bring its influence to bear. A wise Whig Statesman should seek to connect, by the ties of party, this large body of wealth and growing influence. In fact, he should treat it as the *body* of Irish Whiggery, and use it as the rampart of his government. He should leave no means untried by which he could animate this great body of wealthy and independent persons with a Whig spirit. Those principles which Burke has laid down in his

"Thoughts on the Present Discontents" a British Statesman should carry out in Ireland, and those principles cannot be efficiently put in practice, except *by means of party connexions.*

"No man, says Burke, who is not inflamed, by vain glory, into enthusiasm, can flatter himself that his single, unsupported, desultory endeavours are of power to defeat the subtle designs and wicked cabals of ambitious citizens. When bad men combine, the good must associate, else they will fall, one by one—an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

How forcibly do those remarks lay bare the folly of Lord Anglesey and Lord Stanley in thinking that their "unsupported, desultory endeavours" could defeat the Orangemen at one side, and the Repealers at the other! They "fell an unpitied sacrifice" because they determined that no party in Ireland should have any feeling of political allegiance to their principles.

When the Rockingham Administration came into power in 1782, Charles Fox wrote to Lord Charlemont a letter on Irish politics, in which occurs the following passage.*

* Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. 2, p. 12.

"*Why should not the complete change of system that has happened in this country operate there as well as here?* And why should not those who used to compose the Opposition in Ireland, become the principal supporters of the new Administration there, *on the very grounds on which they opposed the old one?* In short, why should not the Whigs (I mean in *principle*, not in *name*) unite in every part of the Empire, &c. ?"

Such was the advice of Fox, at a period of political excitement, not very dissimilar from that in 1831. But Lord Anglesey did not wish to be looked upon as a Whig or a Tory. He was ambitious of the reputation of belonging to no party, and he proceeded to govern Ireland accordingly. If there had been a large *no party* in Ireland, his conduct would not have been so absurd, but in the circumstances of the case, a Lord Lieutenant acting in conjuction with a Cabinet composed of Grey, Althorp, and Durham, could not have taken a worse step than to promote Tories to the Bench—make a Tory Attorney-General, and another Tory a Bishop, in the very first fortnight of his administration.

It would be useless to dwell upon the faults

of Lord Anglesey, if there were not some advantage in indicating the rocks on which he split, and any Governor of Ireland will be sure to fail egregiously, if he resolve to cast party connexions from him. Under the British Constitution, Government is carried on by parties; perhaps it may be wrong that such should be the case, but the fact is so, and the analogies of party must be applied to Ireland, *if that country is to remain an integral portion of the British Empire.* Greater men than Lord Anglesey (a Wellesley for example) have failed in trying to apply the *no party* principle to Irish Government. If England has a Whig Government, let Ireland have the same, and *vice versâ.* Such a principle, when fairly carried out, will be most beneficial to all parties in the end.

What gave Lord Anglesey an overweening confidence in his own ability for administering Irish affairs was the unbounded popularity he had acquired in 1828, and the great part he had played in quickening the concession of Emancipation. At that time he also governed on the medley principle, and he was able to induce the agitators to remain quiescent, but *it was their game* to do so then, and political history does not record a body of demagogues, possessed of

so much machiavellian craft as the Irish agitators. Besides, much of the popularity he suddenly acquired in his first government of Ireland, was from the fact that the public had expected "a Huzzar Administration," and they were astonished to find one of the High Tory party become so enthusiastic in his regard for the people. Mr. Moore compared his Lordship at that time, to one of Astley's equestrians riding a pair of horses :—

"So rides along with canter smooth and pleasant—
That horseman bold, Lord Anglesey, at present,
Papist and Protestant—the coursers twain
That lend their necks to his impartial rein;
And round the ring, each honoured as they go—
With equal pressure from his graceful toe,
To the old medley tune, half 'Patrick's Day,'
And half 'Boyne Water' take their cantering way—
While Peel, the showman, in the middle cracks
His long lashed whip to cheer the doubtful hacks."

The poet volunteered a prediction, which was verified to the letter—

"If once my Lord his graceful balance loses—
Or fails to keep each foot where each horse chooses,
If he but give one extra touch of whip
To Papist's tail, or Protestant's ear tip,
Off bolt the severed steeds, for mischief free,
And down between them plumps Lord Anglesey."

The first active measures resorted to by the Anglesey Government were against the Repeal Agitation, which was attacked by proclamation, and coercive measures were taken to prevent the discussion of the subject. Under the Statute that had been passed for putting down the Catholic Association, the Lord Lieutenant was armed with summary powers, which Lord Anglesey put into force against O'Connell, and caused tenfold excitement in the country. O'Connell was then in his glory—an oppressed man!—a victim to the tyrant rulers! He was supplied with a budget of grievances, on which he dilated triumphantly.

Prevented from holding public meetings, he used the Press for the purpose of agitation, and wrote off every week a lengthy epistle to the Newspapers. He baffled the Government on the prosecution, first by demurring to the indictment, then by withdrawing his demurrer, and pleading "not guilty," and afterwards withdrawing that plea for one of "guilty," but before he could be brought up for judgment, the temporary act under which he was indicted had expired.

The agitation for Reform in 1831, had helped

to draw off attention from the Repeal Question, but in 1832, the whole country was excited from one end to the other, by the anti-tithe agitation, which was the most formidable that Ireland had ever seen. There have been agitations on a more extensive and imposing scale, but there have been none more spontaneous and genuine than the agitation of 1832 against Tithes. The people were roused up in every parish, and a universal combination against the hated impost took place throughout the country. "Passive resistance" was had recourse to. In vain did "Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley" issue his proclamations; in vain did the Protestant clergymen procure the aid of Magistrates, with police, troops of cavalry, and companies of infantry. No Tithes could be collected. If any cattle were seized, on the day of auction, tens of thousands assembled, and no purchaser dared to bid for the cows and pigs that had been taken under a Tithe Decree.

But it was even difficult to get anything upon the lands, for when the peasantry witnessed any soldiers or police going anywhere in a body, horns were blown, and those who owed money for tithes took care to have their

cattle removed with all possible speed to some neighbouring mountain, or to a place of safety, where the Bailiff could not seize them. It is only right to repeat again that the entire Tithe Agitation was honest and spontaneous; it was not "got up" for any personal purposes; it was not the effect of the Corn Exchange Agitators; the universal feeling throughout the country was, that the Tithe System as it then existed, was hateful, and unbearable, and this sentiment was shared almost universally. Unhappily, conflicts took place in many places, and blood on both sides flowed at Newtownbarry, Carrickshock, Wallstown, Carrigeen, and Dunmanway.

The Anti-Tithe Agitation is not to be placed to the discredit of Lord Anglesey or Lord Stanley. It is probable that it would have blazed up, no matter what Ministers had held the reins of power. If Lord Mulgrave, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Drummond had then been in Ireland, it is almost certain that they would have been exposed to bear a similar course of agitation, but *they* would have made a powerful party strongly favourable to the Government—there would not have been the same number of defections from the Whigs to the body of

the agitators, and so many "Joints of the Tail" would never have been returned to the first Reformed Parliament.

The fierceness with which the Government prosecuted the Press, damaged it very much with all moderate and constitutional politicians. The *Tipperary Free Press* had three Government Prosecutions against it; the *Freeman's Journal* was twice prosecuted, *once* for copying a letter of O'Connell's that had appeared in the Leader, *True Sun.* Several persons who had taken part in Anti-Tithe Meetings have been prosecuted.

## CHAPTER XIII.

" Res dura, et regni novitus me talia cogunt,
Moliri ——————"

ÆNEIDOS. 1, v. 564.

IT must, however, be admitted that the state of Ireland at that time (1832) required very stringent measures. It is all very well for people who have no regard to truth to assert that the harshness of Lord Stanley produced the mutinous and outrageous conduct that prevailed in the rural districts of Ireland. But it was not the harshness of Lord Stanley that caused the murders of the Protestant Clergy in Tipperary—than which more cowardly and unmanly atrocities have never been perpetrated

in any country; it was not the harshness of Lord Stanley that caused one hundred and ninety-six individual cases of murder in the year 1832. Long before he had set foot in Ireland, the peasantry, disappointed at not finding Emancipation had given them any of the benefits they had expected, resolved, in various parts of the country, to take matters into their own hands, and deal summarily with the objects of their blind animosity. By the arts of agitation—by their own romantic and sanguine fancies, inflamed by the demagogues, and by the passionate susceptibility of their Celtic temperaments—the peasantry of Ireland were so excited, that the country was almost "heated to the temperature of a furnace, so as that none but political salamanders could exist there."

It is almost certain that if the most benevolent rulers—a Turgot or a George Washington—had been governing Ireland in 1832, that they would, in self defence, have resorted to coercive measures. No Governors, worthy of the name, would have permitted the unexampled reign of ruffianism to continue unchecked in the counties of Tipperary, Carlow, Queen's County,

and Kilkenny. Of course the political agitators disowned any connection with the atrocities of the prædial agitation; but it was much to be regretted that all the vehemence of their indignation and the fierceness of their invectives were turned against the Government alone, and that they contented themselves with calmly disapproving of the outrageous conduct of the peasantry. Dr. Doyle was an illustrious exception amongst the Irish popular politicians; and that revered Prelate laboured as strenuously against the agrarian disturbers and murder-associations, as ever he did in vindicating the Church of which he was the ornament, or in exposing the political grievances under which he thought the country laboured. But HE was an honour to his Church and to his country. *He* would have scorned to act the part of a low and violent disturber. He had too much self-respect to think that the cheers of an excited meeting contained the measure of applause, which should content the ambition of a Christian Bishop. He had by nature too humane a heart to "express his unqualified contempt for the whole race" of any religious or political denomination, and he had too powerful a mind to set value upon a plebeian popularity, obtained

by catering to the prejudice of ignorant and infuriated multitudes.

The Coercion Bill of 1833 was a measure absolutely necessary for the preservation of life and property in Ireland, and although some of its severe provisions caused great odium, they were justified by the lengths to which terrorism had been carried. Jurors were intimidated from giving verdicts, and the ordinary process of the law was completely subverted. Within the previous twelve months the Government had offered rewards to the amount of Twelve Thousand Pounds, for the apprehension of criminals, and only two of the rewards had been claimed!

The great charge brought forward by the Radical Opposition against the Ministers was, that the same measure had not been inflicted on Kent, when "Swing" caused so many incendiary fires. But there was no analogy between the destruction of property in an English County and the wholesale system of terrorism that prevailed through a great part of Ireland. Lives were never taken in England with the same shocking recklessness as in the disturbed Irish districts, and the law, when put in force against Swing, was successful; whereas, against the

prædial agitators of Kilkenny, the law had been tried in vain during the years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832. Some measure by which prompt punishment should be inflicted was required by the painful necessities of the times. What use was it to appeal to the ordinary tribunals, when the Jurors feared to bring in verdicts of guilty? The disturbances in Ireland had assumed a protracted and continuous character, and justified a recourse to extra-constitutional means of repression.

"Think, cried Sir Robert Peel, of *one hundred and ninety-six murders* in one year! Why you have gained glorious victories with less loss of life. With less profusion of English blood, you rolled back the fiery tide which the exulting valour of France poured upon the heights of Busaco. But why do I talk of battles? Oh! how tame and feeble the comparison between death in the field of honour, and that death which is inflicted by Irish Assassins. *It is not the fatal hour of that death that is most terrible; it is the wasting misery of suspense—the agony of expectation—that is listening for weeks and months to every nightly sound, lest it be the fatal knell that is to summon a whole family to destruction. These are the*

*real terrors from which the act of murder is too often a merciful relief.*"

It is lamentable to observe how, from its habitual character, the crime of Murder does not excite in Ireland the same horror as in other parts of the Empire. Even in a class far above the peasantry, there does not exist that glowing indignation against the murderer, that one would expect to find in a civilized country. "He was not a good landlord," or "he took a farm that belonged to others by right," is in popular estimation enough to justify a murder. Much of this shameful insensibility arises from the fact of one Irish nation holding, and the other Irish nation tilling the land. When a wealthy landlord is shot, the middle classes and peasantry of Ireland feel that they are not much concerned in the matter. *They* are not likely to be murdered because they have no land. So, also, when a harsh landlord makes a wholesale ejection of tenantry, his brother Squires' sense of humanity is not shocked in the slightest degree. *They* are not likely to be sent to sleep in the ditches, and starve in the depth of winter. *They* are not likely to have famished urchins, with little blanched cheeks calling on "daddy" for a potato. If murders

for other than agrarian causes were more prevalent in Ireland, undoubtedly more public indignation would be expressed against the criminals.

When we reflect on the terrorism that has for years prevailed in some parts of Ireland, it is almost matter for wonder how a Gentry can reside there. "The agony of expectation," as described by Sir Robert Peel, would be of itself enough to render life miserable. But as Bentham remarks—"The mind is endowed with no less elasticity and docility, in accustoming itself to situations, which, at first sight, appear intolerable. In all sufferings there are occasional remissions, which, in virtue of the contrast are converted into pleasure."

Perhaps the hardihood displayed by some Irish landlords, while living in a state of imminent danger, may be accounted for by another observation of Bentham—"When one observes the courage or brutal insensibility when in the very act of being turned off, of the greater part of the malefactors that are executed at Newgate, it is impossible not to feel persuaded that they have been accustomed to consider this mode of ending their days as being to them a natural death—as an accident

or misfortune by which they ought no more to be deterred from their profession, than soldiers or sailors are from theirs, by the apprehension of bullets, or of shipwreck."*

But assuming that the Irish landlords are social "malefactors," is not that state of society deplorable, where the murder of a fellow being is thought so little of by "the lower nation," and where the eviction of large bodies of tenantry does not provoke any honest wrath amongst "the upper nation." There is no common sentiment of right and wrong between these two nations; the feelings that prevail in one are not reciprocated by those in the other; the cruel landlord continues to be respected by one body of persons, and the savage murderer finds shelter and impunity amongst another body. A common recognised standard of the duties and rights of property would effect more for the social happiness of Ireland, than any legislative enactment whatever.

In 1832, the very foundations of society were menaced in so many quarters, that extra-constitutional measures of a stringent nature were absolutely necessary for carrying on the government of the country. The people were

* Rationale of Punishment. Book 2, chap. 12.

really goaded on to violence by an extraordinary pressure of social and political causes of an unexpected nature. There were in that year, four distinct and separate agitations raging through the country.

First—and most formidable was the agrarian agitation, principally confined to the peasantry. This spread through the central counties of Ireland, and was the cause of the most diabolical outrages of every kind. The "White-feet" openly assembled in numbers; landlords were afraid to look for rent; and Jurors feared to pronounce verdicts of "guilty."

Secondly—The Reform Bill agitation added to the bitterness of social life, amongst the gentry. A great many who are now counted with the Conservative party, advocated the "Bill—the whole Bill—and nothing but the Bill," and without procuring for themselves any substantial popularity with the lower classes, lost the confidence of "their order." In that ill fated year the Irish gentry were rent asunder by the bitterest and most factious animosities. At one side, the Conservative Reformers were at war with the "No Surrender" Tories, and on the other, the Whigs were furiously attacked by the Repealers.

Party Politics were then more bitter and envenomed than they had ever been in Ireland.

Thirdly—The Repeal agitation was excited by O'Connell with all his energies. It was his object to clap a formidable "tail" to his person, so as to invest himself with more political importance. Since the Whigs would not recognise him as belonging to their party, he resolved to make a faction for himself, and he certainly contrived to realise his purpose with great ability. He denounced the Tories, Whigs, and Moderates, and proclaimed that his followers were to vote for none but pledged Repealers.

Fourthly—The anti-Tithe agitation was quite distinct from the Repeal movement, which it preceded in time, and equalled in violence. Many who were not Repealers, zealously joined that movement, and it must be admitted that it was the most *bona fide* agitation that prevailed. It was more spontaneous than any of the rest, and required less fanning for its combustion. The murders of the Protestant Clergymen in various parts of the country gave a fearful character to the Anti-Tithe meetings. The system of Tithes was in those days very bad, and caused universal heartburning through

society. It was then a palpable grievance at the very doors of the peasantry, and the reform of the system had certainly been delayed too long.

To add to the other evils, the Cholera committed terrible havoc in various parts of the country. The potato crop failed in many places, and altogether society was in a shocking state in Ireland.

And yet there are some persons so flagrantly unjust as to impute that unhappy state of things to the Marquis of Anglesey and Lord Stanley!!! In particular, the latter Nobleman was held up by the Radical Dissenters of England and the Irish Repealers, as the cause of all Irish unhappiness. If O'Connell, with a solemn countenance, had declared that he believed Stanley, and Stanley alone, was the cause of the Cholera Morbus, no doubt many of his followers would have cried "hear, hear," and a large portion of his Press would have diffused the sentiment throughout the country.

A fair observer will admit that most of the faults committed by Lord Stanley during his Chief Secretaryship, would have been fallen into by any Whig Secretary at that time. The

circumstances of his position were most trying, and a Statesman, with less force of character than Lord Stanley, would have been completely crushed by the host of evils that then surrounded the Government. It was doing much in such times to maintain the idea of Government at all, and many Chief Secretaries who earned a fair character for ability in quiet years, would, in 1832, have been by all parties pronounced weak and contemptible :—

> " ——— when the sea is calm,
> All boats alike show mastership in floating."

But, in times "when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out—when a new and troubled scene is opened, and the file affords no precedent," then many of the amiable, *dilettanti* summer-weather Statesmen would find their proper places in the *boudoir*, or the library, anywhere rather than in the office of Administration.

By the mistakes committed during the Anglesey Government, the Whig party profited considerably in wisdom, as will be shewn when the Mulgrave Ministry shall be discussed. They had learned to understand the *bugaboo* system of O'Connell, and to comprehend his

political tactics; they found out that he would never voluntarily commit himself to anything but "talk,"

But nothing can be more false than the assertion that Lords Anglesey and Stanley were *the cause* of the discontent and turbulence that were so general in Ireland in the years 1831 and 1832. They did not cause the Anti-Tithe Agitation or the Repeal movement—or the agrarian outrages. To all of those any Minister would have been exposed.

The principle of a Medley Government added to their difficulties. All parties attacked, and none defended the policy of Ministers. Dr. Boyton, the popular leader of the Conservatives, stung Lord Anglesey in a succession of speeches that were greedily devoured by all the Repealers. When he proclaimed that "the worst society in Dublin was to be found at the Lord Lieutenant's table," most persons of both parties were disposed to agree with him. At that time the Reverend Doctor was a sort of Tory O'Connell, and his exposures of the mistakes of Lord Anglesey were certainly very trenchant, and added considerably to the unpopularity of that Nobleman. One speech in particular, delivered upon the oc-

casion of a dialogue between the Lord Lieutenant and Doctor Baldwin "the Leviathan of Munster Radicals," was very caustic, and exposed the weaknesses of Lord Anglesey's character with great severity. It must be confessed that the dialogue could have been well spared. The Marquis was unprepared to meet with so adroit and expert a conversationalist as Dr. Baldwin; he became excited with the calm severity of the Doctor's remonstrances, and talked of "blocking up Irish commerce with four-gun brigs." He assumed a disparaging tone, while deriding with military pride, the resources of the Irish Repealers. Talking of the two parties in Ireland, he said with significance "I will put you both down." It is foolish for a Lord Lieutenant to descend to making speeches, except of the vaguest character. He is to act and not to talk; in no country should the Executive less pretend to oratory than in Ireland.

Few sights could be more melancholy than to witness Lord Anglesey's progress through Ireland in 1832. His exits and entrances into towns were unnoticed and disregarded, and none cheered him as he passed along, save the regiments of the line, a sad contrast to the

popularity that he had once enjoyed! Nothing can be a more bitter satire on the *morale* of Irish popularity, than the simple facts that the Marquis Wellesley was decidedly an unpopular Lord Lieutenant, while Lord Anglesey, in his first administration, almost equalled the late Lord Fitzwilliam as the favourite of the hour; and that the same Lord Anglesey, without having changed a single opinion, or altered his line of conduct, should become as detested as though he were another Castlereagh!

It must be confessed that the licentiousness of the attacks against his Government were disgraceful, and the pains taken to blacken his character were most scandalous. The indignities which were offered to him must have caused many a pang, when he recollected the extravagant popularity of which he had once been the idol. He bore up gallantly against his mishaps, and certainly displayed no ordinary degree of "pluck" in circumstances that would have broken the spirit of a man wanting great fortitude and valour.

Persons of moderate views in Politics have often strongly censured Lords Anglesey and Stanley for not having added to the number of

Irish representatives when the Reform Bill was before the Legislature. But this charge lies against the whole Grey Ministry, and not against the Irish Rulers of that time. A considerable increase in the number of Irish members was much wanted, and most undoubtedly it must be had recourse to in those Legislative measures, by which the Union between the two countries will be put upon an equitable basis. Still great difficulties surrounded the Reform Ministry, and all parties were disposed to admit that a curtailment of the Members of the House of Commons was more desirable than an addition to them. If thirty members had been subtracted from the English, and added to the Irish representatives, there was at that time some danger to apprehend that the Tory cry of "Spoliation" would have been rendered more formidable, and that Ministers would not have been able to give Members to so many large towns.

But the reason that swayed most of the Reform Ministers in resisting an encrease to the Irish representation, was the fear of making the Repealers more formidable. When it was announced that the Irish popular party intended to cushion the Whig and moderate members, it became a serious question whether new

weapons should be placed in the hands of a party that menaced the existence of the empire. All things considered, Ministers were wrong in not encreasing the Irish representatives to the number of at least one hundred and twenty. Such a step would have made them popular in Ireland, and would not have much trenched upon the English measure of Reform.*

Enough has been said to show the difficulties with which the Anglesey Administration had

* It is still quite possible to add to the number of Irish Representatives, without augmenting the total number of the House of Commons, if the following principle were adopted in a measure of Union Reform, viz.---Let certain small English boroughs be joined together on the system of District Burghs in Scotland. Let sixty small English Boroughs, now returning one member each, for the future return between them but thirty members, and let the subtracted members be added to the Irish Representatives. Such a measure would go far to correct the evil that the Chandos clause has produced; it would trim the constitutional balance more evenly between the parties of the state, and by opening additional vents to the ambition of the Irish Gentry, would have a strong tendency to Imperialise public sentiment in Ireland. Such a plan would usefully curtail the legislative power of what are still rotten boroughs, but would not at the same time deprive them of the Parliamentary franchise. It is only by the adoption of such a principle that the number of Irish Representatives could be increased, without making the House of Commons more unwieldy than it is at present.

to contend, and that the political evils which prevailed in Ireland during its existence are not in any great degree attributable to the conduct of Government. In contrasting it with the subsequent Administration of Lord Mulgrave, let these facts be remembered, that in 1830, the Whigs entered upon the Government of Ireland without previous experience of the actual state of parties in that country; whereas Lord Mulgrave's Ministry had the previous system of four years of Whig rule to profit by. The character of O'Connell's Repeal Agitation was then thoroughly known, and the proper means had become evident for rendering it harmless. Secondly, the Agitators in 1834 were tired out; the country was exhausted by four years of incessant Agitation; the popular purse was drained by constant calls for heavy political subscriptions; a very general desire of a truce between Government and the popular party was spread throughout the country, and people wished for quiet for the sake of novelty as much as anything else. The expense of keeping "The Tail" in Parliament was found very burthensome, and the popular party was desirous of procuring representatives who could defray

the expenses of Elections, Petitions, &c. When it was found that, notwithstanding all the prophecies of O'Connell, the Irish Parliament had not come to College Green, the democratic faith began to wax cold, and the way was smoothed for "Justice to Ireland" and a popular Vice-Royalty.

Lord Anglesey undoubtedly committed grave mistakes in the Government of Ireland. His system of neutrality was a serious blunder in the circumstances of his position—a mistake which originated in his confounding Ireland in 1828, with Ireland in 1830—the Catholics before, with the Catholics after Emancipation. But justice must, after all, be done to that maligned and slandered nobleman; if his policy was productive of evil, he also effected considerable good, and he manifested an energy and application to business unusual in Viceroys. Again, let it be repeated, that in warm affection for the Irish people, he has never been surpassed, even by those successors who drew the largest prizes in the lottery of popular adulation. His difficulties were very great, and, alas! he had no Thomas Drummond at his elbow. He had to encounter three Agitations, viz.—Repeal, Anti-Tithe, and Agrarian;

the Reform Bill excitement procured him no popularity, and it only embittered the hostility of the Tories; and his Government was contemporaneous with the Cholera, and an extent of popular misery and distress, that arose from causes over which Executive Government has no control.

Nothing but unprecedented excitement could have produced "the Tail." The public history of one of its joints, will, perhaps, give some idea of the state of Irish politics in the years 1832–3, and shew the state of affairs during the rule of Lord Anglesey.

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE *RIG* OF FERGUS O'CONNOR.

"He little dreamt when he set out,
Of running such a rig."
JOHN GILPIN'S Ride.

FROM the Revolution to the passing of the Reform Bill, the County Cork had been in the hands of two or three great families. The Earls of Kingston, Shannon, and Cork disposed of its representation with as much ease as Sir Mark Wood returned members for Gatton, or Miss Lawrence chooses legislators for Ripon. Sometimes (but rarely) a distinguished

Whig was selected, but generally some young Boyle or King, destitute of abilities, experience, or even the wish to be serviceable to the country. It was certainly a miserable mockery that an Earl of Cork, an absentee Lord, draining thirty thousand a-year from a country *in which he has no residence of any kind*, should have a potential voice in the question of the representation of the "Yorkshire of Ireland." However, no one ever thought of attempting to open the County—indeed, it would have been vain to do so.

In the Summer of 1832, after the Reform Bill had been carried, a vast public meeting was held in the City of Cork, in honor of the Reform Ministry. This meeting had been assembled under the auspices of the leading Whigs of the South of Ireland, and the Whig magnates of the neighbouring Counties favoured it with their patronage, if not with their presence. The High Sheriff of the County (Mr. Hyde, of Castle Hyde) presided, and he was supported by Sir W. Wrixon Becher; Mr. Jephson, M.P. for Mallow; the late N. P. Leader, M.P. for Kilkenny; Messrs. Stawell, De la Cour, Townsend, and others of the leading Liberals in the County. The meeting had much of an

aristocratic air, and it was, perhaps, the greatest *Whig* gathering that had ever been known in Cork. Everything went off as a constitutional Whig could have desired; "the pristine purity of our well balanced system of Government" was lauded by Sir William Becher;* Mr. De la Cour spoke a neat and even elegant dissertation on Constitutional Liberty, and Mr. Stawell descanted on the principles of the Revolution of 1688. The assembly was held in the County Court House, which was thronged, and as the landlords of the County came forward to address the meeting, loud were the cheers, and great was the enthusiasm. The crowd were highly delighted with so brilliant and imposing

* Sir William Wrixon Becher is one of the most *distingue* Irish Whigs. When at Oxford, he was equally conspicuous for attachment to fashionable pleasures and literary pursuits, and some thirty years since he was one of the most "promising young men" at Brookes's. He was a friend of Sheridan in his latter days, and was much esteemed by Henry Grattan. Having at great expense wrested the representation of Mallow from the Jephsons, he stood forward a very zealous supporter of the Catholic claims, and became a popular character in Ireland. He was an admirable actor, and was a leading performer in the well remembered Private Theatricals at Kilkenny Castle. From his histrionic talents—his political zeal, and his ambition, it was expected that he would have played a high part in public life, but he was a failure in Parliament,

an exhibition. Some City Radicals, however, were present, who were by no means pleased with the *moderado* character of the meeting, and they did not feel quite at home in the presence of "the assembled rank and wealth of this great county."

Towards the end of the day, a gentleman, whom no one knew, claimed a hearing from the High Sheriff. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, had red hair, and a fierce countenance, with an indescribable "dare devil" demeanour. He proposed some amendment for the purpose of entitling him to speak, and literally electrified the meeting with one of the most inflammatory harangues that even Irish

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and retired from politics in 1825. He was an Irish Whig of Grattan's party, but wanted his great chief's warmth of character and sympathy with the mass of his countrymen. The Baronetcy bestowed on him in 1831, was understood to have been a mark of Earl Grey's personal friendship. He is now better known as the husband of "Miss O'Neill," than as having been *renomme* in the Whig Coteries. His distinguished lady is as great an ornament to private life, as she was once to the Stage. The opinion of society has stamped her as one of those admirable women who fully justify the remark of Mrs. Jamieson, "There is nothing in the Profession of an actress, incompatible with the respect due to woman,—the cultivation of every feminine virtue, and practice of every private duty."

ears had ever heard. "Who is he?" was eagerly asked, but no one could tell the orator's name. His person was unknown, except to a few who thought they had seen him "in the Bar-box at the last assizes." The Whigs wished him far away, but the mass of the meeting were delighted with his dashing and rattling style—his high sounding clap-traps—his unbroken fluency, and his *ultra*-Irish principles. "Away with this canting Whiggery," he cried, "Repeal, and nothing but Repeal, will do for Ireland." Cheers greeted the unknown speaker, as he poured forth a torrent of vituperation against the Whig Ministry, the Lord Lieutenant, and "the tyrant Stanley." It was most amusing to witness the blank faces of dismay amongst the Whig Gentry, and to contrast them with those of the delighted "people." Many were heard to say that this new public speaker was "finer than O'Connell."

The Whigs listened to him in silence, until the strange orator, after having abused the Aristocracy, "these *fruges consumere nati*" "this kidskin glove aristocrat with his gingerbread Geneva watch in his fob—his hat on three hairs of his head, actually st—k—g with perfume," &c., &c.—clenching his fist,

suddenly told the astonished meeting that "*he* would open up the rotten borough of Cork." Shouts of laughter from the Whig Gentry greeted this foolish escapade, as it was then thought to be. A man whose name nobody knew, wresting the County from the Whig Patriots who had always supported Emancipation, and had carried Reform! 'Twas too ridiculous! even the City Radicals thought the stranger was "very wild in his ideas." What for a man without a passport from the recognised organs of Agitation to take matters into his own hands! Besides would O'Connell give him leave to come forward? In short, though the humbler—more numerous—and least reflecting portion of the meeting were in ecstasies with the stranger, his announcement that *he* would open up Cork County made some persons strongly suspect his sanity.

And this was Fergus O'Connor's *début* in political life. Yes! the stranger whom no one then knew was that demagogue who has done so much mischief to himself and others—who excited the Repealers of Ireland, and the Chartists of England—injured the one cause, and ruined the other.

Fergus O'Connor is nephew to Arthur Con-

dercet O'Connor, and son to the late Roger O'Connor, author of "Chronicles of Eri." The O'Connor family is one of the most ancient in Ireland, and the Munster branch of it claims to be descended from the old Irish Kings of that name and race. The family had enjoyed, during the last century, good worldly consideration, and had lived in imposing style at Connorville, an ancient mansion now in ruins. Arthur O'Connor was a member of the Irish Parliament, and distinguished himself by his violent principles, and eloquent speeches. He espoused the French doctrines on politics, and his address to the electors of Down caused great sensation at the time. He was an honest man—sparingly gifted with judgment—not fit for the management of great affairs, though his zeal and ambition urged him to the politics of rebellion. He had a very narrow escape for his life, but the Government of the day did not prosecute him with the zeal it might have done, and contented itself with insisting that he should leave the Kingdom.*

* Some years since the Government permitted him to visit Ireland for a short time on family affairs. An Irish gentleman paid him his respects, and brought to General O'Connor some of his early Irish pamphlets and speeches, at the sight of

Roger O'Connor lived for a long time at Dangan Castle, in the County of Meath, the birth-place of the Duke of Wellington. He was a man of unsettled character and habits, and much of his restless disposition was inherited by his son, Fergus, who became an Irish barrister, but made little progress in his Profession, and about the year 1832, lived at a very handsome place in the County of Cork, which he inherited from a relation. At "Fort Robert" he led the life of an Irish country gentleman—hunted—coursed—farmed—and drank whiskey punch. But rural affairs did not present a sufficiently wide sphere for so adventurous a spirit. He resolved to plunge into

which, he burst into tears. In conversation on that day upon the state of Ireland, he exclaimed---

"It is very true, Sir, that Ireland has improved since then. You have more houses and comforts now---the people are more numerous, and are better dressed on the whole. The face of the country has also improved; but the mind of Ireland---aye! --the MIND of IRELAND, Sir, is degraded, yes! shockingly degraded!"

The difference between the Wolfe Tones, Addis Emmetts, Fitzgeralds, and M'Nevins, and the "Dear Rays"---O'Neill Daunts---Tom Arkinses, ET HOC GENUS OMNE painfully struck him. An United Irishman could feel nothing but unqualified scorn for the Corn Exchange, and its "Loyal Repeal Associations."

politics, and to become a leader of "the people."

It must be admitted that Fergus was well fitted in some respects for an Irish tribune. He had the three great requisites, viz.—brazen audacity, a fine, sonorous voice, and a copious supply of words. Besides these, he had other qualities—a frank and ingratiating demeanour, very popular manners, high spirits, and a reckless nature of adventurous turn. His face was very ugly, its features were haggard and care-worn, the forehead retreated sharply from the brow—his hair was foxy, but his stature was large, with massive shoulders, and his action in public speaking was peculiarly easy and graceful. Almost all other qualities for a public man he wanted. For example, he had neither tact, discretion, power of reflection, or capacity for retaining his influence.

His style of demagogueism had much individuality of character. Most Irish demagogues, for the last few years, have been only bad copies of O'Connell or Sheil. They try and imitate the vehement politics and funny scurrility of one, or the *sesquipedalia verba* and fustian sentiments of the other. They are seldom original—their topics are hackneyed, and

they survey Ireland with the eyes of men, who take all their ideas from the Corn Exchange.

But Fergus was original, and certainly O'Connell had good cause for being jealous of his powers for popular speaking. There was a wild Ossianic spirit about O'Connor's spirit-stirring effusions that was altogether different from O'Connell's wearisome blarney, and incessant cajolery. As men of talent and mind, it would be absurd to institute any comparison between them, but as Irish popular speakers, Fergus was, in some respects, superior to O'Connell. Though he had no poetical powers, he had strong poetical feelings (which are totally deficient in O'Connell,) and to these he often gave vent in speeches of a most romantic character, whose effect was not the less powerful, because they could not bear the criticism of the closet. These poetical feelings were natural to Fergus—he had lived much in the country, and had roamed over the Continent—he was fond of Theatricals, and reputed to have no mean histrionic powers. His mind was crammed with legendary poetry, and on the whole there was in those times, before he became a hardened Agitator, a mystical spirit in the man that found an utterance in pouring out his

feelings to an impassioned peasantry, who heartily sympathised with the fancies of this wild and singular demagogue.

Besides there was a strong dash of high and aspiring character in Fergus's popular speaking. He did not talk down to his audience after O'Connell's "free and easy" colloquial style, and put himself on a level with all the cobblers and tinkers in the crowd. He played the part to perfection of an Irish Chieftain, and addressed the Repealers rather as his gallant clansmen, than as his fellow-citizens or comrades. In truth, he was a *picturesque* agitator. His voice was in those days greatly in his favor, and when he poured out some half-poetical harangue in his dramatic tones, interspersing it with vague aspirations after Freedom, in the style of "Young Germany," and snatches of verse, aiding the whole effect by his flowing delivery, and the gallantry of his deportment, nothing could exceed the delight of "the people." Many persons, competent to judge, considered him a much better popular speaker than O'Connell. But he had nothing of the various powers of the "Great Agitator." When he had ceased to talk, his influence was at an end.

Such was the man who, in the years

1832 and 1833 produced "immense effect" in the South of Ireland, and spread "Repeal" throughout Munster with great inflammatory power.

The Whig Gentry had quietly calculated that they would be left to name the member for the County, and there was some doubt as to which of the patrons of Liberalism would be started for the representation of Cork. Fergus determined to anticipate them in their designs, and finding that "the people" were absolutely enchanted with his style of speaking, and that his announcement of opening the County had been treated with derision by the gentry and the City Radicals, he resolved to set about it in downright earnest. He accordingly printed a very bombastic address to the electors, and as the election (consequent on Reform Bill) was not to take place for some time, he spent the interval in visiting all parts of the County —canvassing the farmers, and making acquaintances amongst the Priests. He also made himself most useful at the Registries, and by infinite pains got a great number of the farmers to register their votes.

In most of this he was unaided. The public of the County looked on tranquilly, and

could hardly believe that a man of so little social influence would have the audacity to "oust" the great aristocratic families from their ancient proprietorship of the County, especially since the Whig Houses of King and Boyle had always supported Emancipation and Reform. That such a man as Fergus, with a property averaging six hundred a-year, should aspire to represent the first County in Ireland, with a population of 750,000 persons, was thought "very amusing" by the Tories; "very impudent" by the Whigs, and "very absurd" by the Radicals and Repealers. The latter parties thought the attempt quite hopeless.

In about three months Fergus contrived to become the "favorite" candidate. Many, however, held aloof from him; the Catholic Clergy were divided concerning his merits; the more sensible of the lay Repealers thought him very reckless and headstrong, the more timid Conservatives saw in him a copy of Danton. That year (1832) offered him a fine opportunity for exhibiting his declamatory powers. There were vague feelings abroad. Europe was heaving with convulsions, and Ireland was panting with agitation. On all the leading grievances of the County, Fergus harangued most eloquently, cleverly availing

himself of the incidental Irish topics that the events of the day presented him. His chief instrument was his tongue; he talked himself up, and charmed the people through their ears. O'Connell wrote a letter, approving of him as a candidate for the County on the Repeal side, but in any case, he would have been returned without a certificate from the Corn Exchange.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE RIG OF FERGUS O'CONNOR.

(CONTINUED.)

" . . . and all agog
To dash through thick and thin."

JOHN GILPIN'S Ride.

As an example of the influence produced by O'Connor's bold enterprise, the Mallow election of 1832-3 may be referred to.

Mallow is a very interesting and handsome town, seated on the Blackwater, some twenty miles to the north of the City of Cork. From 1690 (with one or two exceptions)* it had returned a member of the Jephson-Norreys family, who own much of the town,

* One of the exceptions was in the person of Sir William Becher.

and have been always resident at their noble demesne of Mallow Castle. Their estate is part of the property forfeited in Elizabeth's reign by the Desmond. The borough has a population of between six and seven thousand persons, and has about four hundred electors. It is one of the wealthiest country towns, not merely in Ireland, but in the Empire; its gentry are not the extravagant and dissipated body which one would expect from the notoriety of "The Rakes of Mallow;" on the contrary, they are thrifty, industrious, and have much ready money amongst them. In short, Mallow is a thoroughly independent place. * Mr. Jephson (now Sir Denham Norreys) had represented it for many years; his politics were those of a Liberal Whig, and in the year 1830, when O'Connell was so severely attacked in Parliament by Mr. Doherty and Mr. North, Mr. Jephson had given him the aid of his open and unequivocal support. At that time there were no "tail members" in Parliament, consequently the support of the Member for Mallow was more valuable to O'Connell,

* In the last century Mallow was a watering place of great resort, and was called "The Bath of Ireland."

who, on his return to Ireland, eulogised in Dublin "the independent, high-minded, and patriotic Charles Denham Orlando Jephson, of Mallow." Accordingly Mr. Jephson was a most popular man in the South of Ireland, and a public meeting was held in Cork for the purpose of thanking him. He had been a staunch Reformer, and nobody thought that his seat for Mallow could be possibly endangered except from the Tory side.

No one up to September, 1832, had dreamed of unseating so liberal a man as Mr. Jephson, when suddenly there appeared in the Cork newspapers an advertisement announcing that on a certain day the electors of Mallow would assemble in order to deliberate on what political pledges should be exacted from the candidates for the representation of the borough. Now as no person in Mallow had been in any wise privy to the ostensible object of that advertisement, great surprise prevailed throughout all parties in the town, especially when the newspaper stated that a deputation from the electors of Mallow, had waited upon "Mr. William Joseph O'Neil Daunt, of Kilcaskan Castle," to solicit that gentleman to become a

candidate! Mr. Daunt was known to the public chiefly as a confederate of Fergus O'Connor, whom he accompanied in his agitating excursions, and to whom (to compare small things with great) he bore the same proportion that Sheil did to O'Connell. Although with a high sounding name and a castle, his property was not of the extent that candidates for parliamentary honours are generally expected to possess. He was not altogether deficient in ability, and composed speeches that read very well, as they exhibited more literary culture, than the ordinary gang of Irish agitators displayed in those days.

On the appointed day of the meeting Mr. Daunt attended, and with great *sang froid* took the chair, harangued on Repeal, attacked the politics of Mr. Jephson, regularly put himself forward as a candidate for the Borough, though without friends, connexions, or property in the town, from which his place of residence was distant fifty miles, and without any formidable talents, he established a political footing in Mallow. However foolish O'Connor's attempt on the representation of the county appeared, that of his ally, Mr. Daunt, appeared still more reckless.

and hopeless. But 1832 was was a stirring year in Irish Politics, and witnessed strange sights.

As the time of the Elections approached, the exertions of Fergus O'Connor were redoubled. He had secured a great party in the County, and was decidedly the most popular man in the South of Ireland. The Priests had declined to take any decided part in the contest. Lord Boyle (now Earl of Shannon) withdrew from public life, and the Hon. Robert King (now Earl of Kingston) was the only candidate on the Whig side. Mr. Standish Barry offered himself to the County on Whig-Radical principles, stating that he was conditionally opposed to the Repeal of the Union. He was a Catholic gentleman of very ancient family, and good estate. But so violent had the rage become for Repeal politics, that this gentleman encountered the sturdiest opposition. The late Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne* came to his assistance, and urged the Priests to support Mr. Barry's claims, an order which was obeyed

* Dr. Collins, whose evidence before Parliament in 1825 on the state of Ireland, attracted much attention.

with evident reluctance, and the spectacle was then (as it has often been since) witnessed in Ireland of the Protestant Gentleman being the darling of the hour, and the Catholic candidate being the object of distrust and even aversion.

Not since the Rebellion of 1798 had Ireland been in so inflammatory a state. The Orangemen on one side, vied with the Repealers on the other. O'Connell abused the Whig Government, with a fierceness surpassed only by the Reverend Dr. Boyton; the Protestant Conservative Society exceeded the Corn Exchange party in vehement and exciting language, and political intemperance. So great was the ferment that moderate men found that they could not exist in such troubled waters, and retired from Parliament altogether. The tergiversation that then took place in Irish politics was very remarkable, and those who think that levity of principle and selfishness exist only in Courts and Aristocracies could have found in those days in Ireland, numerous instances of democratic caprice and popular inconstancy.

One of the most striking and influential changes of opinion in Ireland on the question of Repeal was in the case of Mr. Daniel Cal-

laghan, member for Cork City.* The honorable gentleman was brother to Mr. Gerard Callaghan, a well known Brunswicker, who once figured prominently on the stage of Irish politics. Mr. D. Callaghan had been elected M.P. for Cork, in 1829, by the High Tory interest of the City. With much knowledge of politics, and extensive acquaintance with society: shrewd—sagacious, and versed in mercantile affairs, it was expected that he would have been one of the most useful members in the House of Commons. At first he was a supporter of the Duke of Wellington's Administration, and was opposed to many liberal principles, the Reform of Corporations amongst others. He was so much of a Tory that on the motion of Sir H. Parnell, which upset the Wellington Cabinet, he was found in the minority supporting the condemned Administration.

* The founder of the Callaghan family was the father of the present Member for Cork. He was the greatest Merchant that Ireland has produced, and possessed a mind of remarkable energy and capacity for large enterprises. None envied him his fortune, as he rewarded all who served him with a princely munificence. For a provincial capitalist his speculations were of surprising magnitude, and his influence with the Government was very great. Men of his stamp are wanted in Ireland far more than orators.

When, however, the Reform Bill was introduced by Lord Grey, the honorable gentleman voted with the memorable majority of One. On the dissolution immediately following he was zealously opposed by the Radical party in the City of Cork, led by men of great honesty, virtuous boldness, and sterling consistency of character. From having been a Tory, the honorable gentleman advocated Whig principles, and was returned in conjunction with a son of the Earl of Cork. He was then without the zealous support of any party in Cork. His former friends were especially incensed against him, and the Radicals and Repealers denounced him in the most strenuous manner. Little did they dream that in a few months he would become a conspicuous Repealer.

A year elapsed; the Reform Bill became the Law of the land, and Repeal was everywhere in Ireland substituted for the cry of Reform. Then arose what may be called a third estate in the Irish popular party. The first estate was the body of Liberal Peers—leading lawyers, and men of large fortune; the second was the burgher class, composed of the solid portion of the middle order of society, wealthy shopkeepers, attorneys, &c.; but thirdly came the

real democracy, comprising elements of the novel and anomalous character, that might have been anticipated in the Irish masses. In this party were dreamers, and levellers of every kind — visionaries, enthusiasts, and several patriotic antiquarians, that belong to the "Finn ma Coul School of Irish Politics."

In 1832, this pure democratic element came into play in the South of Ireland. Its most noticeable features were austerity and severe uncompromising fanaticism. Its advocates were not so much enthusiastic as *remorseless* Repealers, vowing political vengeance against those who would not take the pledge to vote in Parliament for the Repeal. The middle classes at this time were wavering and undecided. They had easily managed the working people in past times, but now, to their no small surprise, found that they were beaten in the race for popularity by a new party that sprung up armed for a political contest with all who would not accept its principles. At first the working class party of Repealers had no men of wealth to join them. But soon their numbers swelled, and they became a powerful political body.

It is curious to observe the great difference

in politics between a rural and urban population. Although they nominally professed the same principles, no persons could have been more unlike than the repealers of the County, and those of the City of Cork. The latter were hard headed, stern, and bitter fanatics; they were (for Irishmen) singularly calculating and determined, and their zeal exhibited, in its political manifestation, something of Scotch religious intensity. On the other hand, the Repealers of the County were an impulsive, hearty, romantic race, who rejoiced in dreaming of the glories of Old Ireland, while the compatriots of the "beautiful city" looked forward to an increase of trade and shipping in their barbour.

In all movements of a democratic character the party (let it call itself what it may) that seeks to arrest and moderate the rate of progression, is invariably branded as lukewarm, and aristocratic. Adopting terms from the French Revolution, it may be said, that during the agitation for Repeal in Ireland in 1832, there was a party of the Gironde, and a party of the Mountain, and the latter eventually won the victory. There was a large Anglo-Irish Liberal party in the City of Cork, and it

sought to withstand the shock of the Irish Mountainists, but in vain. The moderate men were totally routed, and the working class Repealers became masters of the field of contest.

Previous to the triumph of "the people" all the moderate Liberals of Cork mustered together, and determined to send a most respectable deputation to wait upon the Working Classes' "Trades Association," in order to effectuate a political compromise. The "Trades Association" met at that time in a large loft in a ruinous old store, whose walls were decorated with halfpenny candles that shed a dim flickering light on the sweltering mass of workmen congregated together. It was anything rather than a brilliant assembly; at the utmost some five or six men of property patronized its proceedings, but they had some men of the working classes, whose intelligence equalled, and whose patriotism surpassed most of the semi-aristocratic liberals of the "beautiful city." Indeed so fierce was the republican and democratic fanaticism of this body, that "gentlemen" were held in distrust if not in aversion by all its members.

Upon the night for meeting the leading Liberals proceeded together to wait upon the

congregated Trades. The Gironde deputation comprised many of the leading citizens, whose probity of character was well known, and whose political consistency at the Liberal side (with a couple of exceptions) was readily admitted. But they were not root and branch Repealers; they had some qualms of moderation; they felt the difficulties surrounding the question, and were not red hot zealots in the cause of domestic legislation. Amongst them was one very high-spirited, and useful public man, Mr. Daniel Meagher, who had been for thirty years battling in the popular cause; Mr. Fagan, a Federalist in principles, and a gentleman of family and fortune, highly accomplished and of generous views in politics; Mr. Thomas Lyons, a Roman Catholic merchant of great wealth, a practical philanthropist of matchless virtue, and many other gentlemen of kindred character. One might have supposed that the members of such a body would have been received with warmth of feeling, but to their consternation, they were ushered up to the President's table, through a mass of silent and scowling democrats, whose

grim and emaciated faces looked defiance at the "Aristocrats" that dared to meddle with the honest Repealers of the "Trades' Association."

Very cool, indeed, was the reception of the deputation; a sarcastic smile of derision was visible on the faces of all the officials in the body of the Trades; they could scarcely conceal their delight at the "Aristocrats"* having been so humbled as to come into their presence, and some of the body bolder than the rest, very plainly expressed their contempt for the deputation and its political principles. The old loft was then densely crowded, and the deputation had no followers to back its pretensions, but Mr. Meagher, goaded by the taunts and jibes of the leaders of the Trades, with a fierceness and vehemence that none but an Irish popular speaker could exhibit, accused the whole body of the basest and blackest ingratitude. The President of the Trades Association was one of the few men of fortune in the body. Rising from his seat with something of affected dignity, he calmly asked the deputation—

* The "Aristocrats" were most of them Repealers, and all of them Ultra-Radicals!

"Who are you, and whence come ye, that seek to have audience of the Trades Association of the City of Cork? Come ye from a public meeting of the Citizens assembled by notice, or do ye emanate from any private junto of politicians?"

In thus addressing the Deputation, the President affected never to have seen the faces of any of the gentlemen before. He appeared not to know that such persons existed in the world, and treated them with a democratic *hauteur* that galled the unfortunate deputation, whose members had once been used to "loud cheers," "thunders of applause," &c. Even in Irish politics, so rife with strange, droll, and wild proceedings, few more striking *scenes* have ever been witnessed than the haughty and stern reception given by the fanatical repealers to the moderate (!) Liberals of the City of Cork. The blank faces of Mr. Fagan and his friends, aghast at the freezing reception given them by the President; the uncontrollable Irish rage of Mr. Meagher bursting out indignantly at the ingratitude with which "the old and tried friends of the people" were received; the sardonic grins of the morose democrats, and the *froideur* of the President, formed a good dra-

matic picture, when taken in conjunction with the gloomy loft in which was "darkness visible," crowded with the dense mass of the working classes.

On that night, commenced the reign of Repeal in Munster. Mr. Daniel Callaghan upon that night, to the amazement of men of all parties, declared himself a Repealer; the pressure must have been sudden and rapid, which in three years could have effected such changes, as to hand over the representation of the city of Cork from the families of Hutchinson, Boyle, Longfield, and Colthurst into the democratic custody of a body of electors under the influence of the "Trades Association." The public effect of Mr. Callaghan's change of opinion on such a question was *very great*, and nearly all the moderate Liberals and Whiggish politicians joined the Repealers, and the democratic party since that time has ruled the politics of Cork.

Nothing was more striking during the Repeal Movement in 1832, than the disgraceful rapidity with which numbers of persons abandoned one line of politics and adopted another. One day they were for Union with England, and on the next they were for Repeal, and nothing

but Repeal. On the morning of the day before Mr. Callaghan publicly announced his intention of becoming a Repealer, a commercial gentleman left the Quay of Cork on a trip of pleasure to Cove, which is a few miles below the City. In walking into the Chamber of Commerce, upon his return at dinner time, he was astonished to find forty or fifty gentlemen that he had left Anti-Repealers, had, in the interval, become reconciled to a dissolution of the Union—all because "even Mr. Callaghan is going to turn a Repealer."

These sudden conversions of bodies of men are only to be found in unsettled times, and under the pressure of great democratic force. To have opinions of one's own, and to maintain them resolutely, is denounced as "haughty—aristocratic," &c. To differ from a democratic body is to affront its judgment, and call forth its condemnation; and as the mass of men love ease and quiet better than steady adherence to fixed opinions, they allow themselves to be carried away by the strongest and most clamorous body. The honest virtue of "independency" however admirable it may be in the

Court of a Monarch, is even more praiseworthy when exhibited under the frowns of an irritated democracy.

But let us return to the progress of Fergus O'Connor, whose speeches had considerable effect in inflaming the passions of the Cork Working classes. As the year advanced, Fergus encreased his activity, and introduced the Repeal Movement into the borough of Youghal, which had always been under the political control of the Duke of Devonshire. North and South, East and West did Fergus journey through the County, carrying every thing before him, and surprising the public with the spectacle of a man unknown in the month of June, chosen, before the middle of winter, M.P. for the largest County in Ireland! Never before was Munster in such a state of excitement. The Anti-tithe war was at its height. Cattle were seized and escorted by the military, and no purchaser would dare to bid for them. The country people assembled in vast hordes; from miles round they came to join the immense gatherings that attended a Tithe-sale; horns sounded, and bonfires blazed upon the hills; the people were "ripe and ready" after a drilling of a few months. They expected

glorious things. The regeneration of Ireland was at hand, and "Repale" would take place at once! The savage murders of some Protestant Clergymen in Tipperary struck terror into the hearts of the ministers of the Establishment. Men, who only claimed their legal rights were in the noon-day massacred in Tipperary—one or two of the murders having been effected by *stoncing to death.* In vain did the Government offer its asssitance; in vain did Mr. Stanley back the Parsons with all the aid of his Police and Magistracy, passive resistance to Tithes was too strong. Many there were who were willing, but afraid to pay. The excitement was literally "tremendous," and the presiding spirit of the stormy scenes in the South of Ireland was Fergus O'Connor. His harangues were eagerly listened to by the crowds that thronged to hang upon his words, his popularity was unbounded, and no rival agitator dared to cross his course.

The exertions of O'Connor certainly "got up the steam" in the County of Cork, and contributed to the return of several "joints of the Tail." He succeeded in beating the Tories, Whigs, and Moderates, whether they acted singly or in conjunction. In Mallow the Whigs

and Conservatives clubbed their forces together to resist the intrusion of Mr. Daunt "a total stranger"—"an unknown and untried man." Indeed, no one thought that Mallow could be carried against so amiable a private character, and so consistently liberal a public man as Mr. Jephson. But what could the influence of rank, property, and private character avail against a system of wholesale intimidation—an inflammatory appeal to the populace, and a combination of all the arts of the demagogue with nearly every species of influence by the priest? Mallow was successfully *stormed* by the people. Numbers feared to vote for Mr. Jephson, and "Mr. William Joseph O'Neill Daunt of Kilcaskan Castle" was washed into the House of Commons on the Repeal Tide.

Mark! how suddenly popular opinion is lashed up in Ireland, and how easily the directory of the Corn Exchange can raise and quench the flame of excitement. In 1832 the Repealers of Mallow ejected Mr. Jephson (temporarily) from Parliament, and in three years after, when the Earl of Mulgrave passed through that town as Lord Lieutenant, they thus addressed him—

"We stand before you in numbers amount-

ing to over one hundred thousand, and the greater part of us avow ourselves as having belonged to that political party in this country who advocate the Repeal of the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, in the eager pursuit of which we dismissed, or aided in dismissing from the representation of this Great County and Borough in Parliament, individuals, who, on other public questions, were entitled to respect and confidence."

They then proceeded to declare—

"From the expectation we entertain that the principles indicated by your Excellency's Government will be carried into effect, namely of having the inhabitants of this country to rank, in the eye of the law, on terms of perfect equality with the British people, *we tender your Excellency our solemn abjuration of the question of the Repeal of the Legislative Union,* and of every other question calculated to produce an alienation of feeling between the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of Ireland. We seek for equality with the British people, common interest, and reciprocity of benefits, and to be legislated for as a part of Great Britain. With less we can never be content."

The difference between the sentiments of the Repealers in 1835 from those of 1832, was caused by the fact, that in the latter case the popular leaders were enlisted in the service of the Government, while in the other, Mr. Stanly and O'Connell were pitted against each other in a protracted quarrel.

After Mallow, the election of Youghal may be considered as a great triumph on the part of the Repealers. Mr. John O'Connell, who was then merely of age, was presented to the electors as candidate. Of course "O'Connell's son" wanted no local influence to aid him in working up the Repealers. Mr. Thomas Berry Cusack Smith (now Attorney-General of Ireland) appeared as his opponent, having started on the Conservative interest. The House of Cavendish that had nominated the member since the Revolution was put *hors de combat*; the popular intimidation triumphed, and Mr. John O'Connell was duly returned another "Joint of the Tail."

In the City of Cork, Messrs. Callaghan and Baldwin were elected, having easily vanquished the Whig Candidate (the Honorable John Boyle, son of the absentee Earl of Cork,) and Mr. Newenham, a Puritanical, but

amiable Conservative, who had fruitlessly spent fifteen thousand pounds at a preceding election, when he was deemed a more liberal politician than Mr. Callaghan, and in which Mr. Callaghan defeated him. In the County Mr. Garret Standish Barry, though not a Repealer, was installed as another "joint of the tail," having been smuggled into Parliament amidst the murmurs of the Repealers, "Fergus" tucking him up under one arm, and *a few* of the Priests zealously serving "the first Catholic representative of the County for one hundred and fifty years."

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE *RIG* OF FERGUS O'CONNOR.

" Nor stopped till where he had got up,
He did again get down."
JOHN GILPIN'S Ride.

WELL, " the people were truly wild with delight when they saw all that they had done. They had for the time annihilated the Aristocratic and Tory party, and they thought that they had exterminated the Whigs, Moderadoes, and Constitutional Radicals. Their eyes were now turned to the House of Commons, and each Irish Constituency looked with interest for the

figure that its own member would make in Parliament.

When actually elected "M.P." for Cork, the personal importance of Fergus became greater than ever, and his head shewed strong symptoms of giddiness at his sudden elevation. He began to act up to the character of a Knight of the Shire, which was no easy matter with moderate means. He had a house at "Fort Robert" fit for a man of six or seven thousand a-year. It is seated on the brow of a lofty hill near Dunmanway, and commands a charming view of the interesting adjacent country. The demesne is wild, and the ground is very uneven; the avenue winds along a hill for about a mile and a-half before it reaches the esplanade in front of the Mansion. After ascending a flight of steps, you enter a huge hall, in which one could easily drive a curricle and pair, and at either side a vast reception room yawns for the visitors. In short, it is a "great house," but alas! 'twas entirely *too* great. The value of half the estate would have been required to keep it up properly, and one would expect to meet a retinue of servants in so huge a structure. Still it was mighty grand to have such a house, and what member had a finer one?

But Fergus, not content with his "great house," should, as all the leading Irish commoners did formerly, go upon the Turf. Accordingly he appeared at the Fermoy Races in 1833, with three racing steeds, amongst which were "Louisa by Roller, &c," and the "Chay Horse, otherwise Red Rover." The sporting gentry, when they read a pompous announcement that "Mr. F. O'Connor's horses passed through Cork, &c." were alarmed at the prospect of so formidable a competitor, but they were soon undeceived, his steeds could not go the pace—they had not a chance of success, but then it was mighty fine to be an M. P. with three race horses!

In London Fergus soon became a "character." All through his life he has confounded notoriety with fame, and he has certainly obtained plenty of the former. In the House of Commons he completely realised the pithy remark of Canning—"The true way to extinguish a demagogue is to send him into Parliament." He soon found that it was a very different thing to harangue a body of Repealers, or to rouse up an Anti-Tithe Meeting, from answering Lord Stanley, or convincing Sir Robert Peel.

In Ireland he was an *amazing*, but in London, he sank to be merely an *amusing* man. He found himself soon upon a level with the ordinary platform politicians, and fell in politics to the rank of a Crown and Anchor genius. He bored the House of Commons with his trashy tirades, and though his society in private was much relished, his speeches in St. Stephen's were treated with the same respectful attention, as the wind whistling about the lantern.

However so restless a spirit should find work for itself, and when it became known that O'Connell would not bring Repeal before Parliament, Fergus astounded "the Tail" by giving a notice of motion embracing the whole question This was towards the middle of 1833, and O'Connell's ire was naturally aroused at his authority being disputed. But Fergus was immovable. O'Connell was too shrewd and wary not to know that bringing the question before Parliament would be giving his entire system "a heavy blow and great discouragement;" but Fergus was too vain glorious to resist such an opportunity of acquiring *eclat* before the Empire. He openly hoisted the standard of

rebellion against O'Connell, and succeeded in causing a strong division of sentiment amongst the "Tail" and the Irish Repealers. O'Connell summoned a meeting of "The Tail," which decided by a narrow majority against forcing the question on that year, but he was obliged to enter into an agreement to introduce the question himself in the following year.

In that year (1833) Fergus returned in high feather to his constituents. He had gained some triumph in showing O'Connell that others besides the great Agitator should have a voice in wielding the Irish Democracy, and then the notion entered into Fergus's head of rivalling O'Connell in every way. With that view he resumed the practice of his Profession, and attended the Cork Assizes. His notoriety in the County procured him briefs, and the rustic Repealers thought "Fergus" must be a great lawyer, since he was so powerful a declaimer. At the first Assizes which he attended as an M. P. he monopolized all the criminal business, and deprived a violent Tory barrister, who had succeeded to a large share of O'Connell's practice, of all his fees. The Tory lawyer had not been much liked on the Circuit, and all parties were amused at his disconsolate aspect as he sur-

veyed Fergus defending almost every prisoner indicted for murder, arson, rape, and robbery. "Othello's occupation was gone" and Fergus swelled with importance as he found himself looked upto as a rising barrister, and the sitting member for the County!

When one looks back to those times, it is impossible not to be amused with the recollections of oddity, absurdity, and humbug, that enjoyed a transitory public existence in Ireland. A great change had been effected not merely in the opinions of the Irish representatives, but in the class of which they were composed. Let a case illustrate the feeling that prevailed upon this political revolution.

At the Cork Summer Assizes in 1833, a prisoner was indicted for stealing some cocks and hens from a poor woman. The trial took place before Baron Pennefather. The case of the prosecutrix was conducted by Mr. Garret Standish Barry M.P. for the County, and Barrister at Law, and the prisoner was defended by Mr. Fergus O'Connor M.P. for the Cnunty and Barrister at Law. Two knights of the shire, arguing points of law in a cock and hen case, had probably never before appeared in a Court of Justice, and the presiding Judge's

sense of the ludicrous was irresistibly tickled. On reference being made to him upon a disputed point, he declared that he would leave it all to "the two legislators," to settle as they pleased. Mr. Barry was distinguished by overgrown black whiskers; and Fergus was equally conspicuous for a red head of hair. Upon the Judge expressing the above opinion, a droll attorney rose, and convulsed the Court with laughter, by exclaiming—

"In that case, my lord, I'll back *red ginger* (meaning Fergus) at any time against *the black cock.*"

Fergus, however, did not rise in his profession, which, apparently, he had never studied with much attention. The Tory barrister recovered his old monopoly, and O'Connor was obliged to be contented with his senatorial honours, which were not of much longer continuance.

At the General Election of 1834, he was opposed by Mr. Longfield, a relative, but he was returned by a large majority. Mr. Longfield had not the slightest chance of succeeding upon the Poll, as the Conservatives out of a constituency of near four thousand, could not bring more than a thousand voters to the hustings.

He started with the avqwed determination of impeaching O'Connor's property qualification, aud public notice to that effect was duly served according to legal form, upon every voter. The Liberals, however, laughed at the idèa of Fergus being unseated. The popular Committee questioned him upon the point, when he assured it that he was duly qualified. However on the case being brought before the House of Commons, it was discovered that he had not the legal qualification, and accordingly the Conservative was seated in the representation of the County of Cork.

This circumstance excited great indignation against Fergus O'Connor. It was said that he betrayed his constituents, and that he had deliberately entered into collusion with the Conservative party. Not long after, there was a vacancy at Oldham, and young Mr. Cobbett was called upon by the Radical party to stand for the representation of the borough. —Fergus O'Connor was also invited by a few of the electors. A Tory appeared, and every inducement was had recourse to, in order to persuade O'Connor to retire from the contest. He had not the most remote chance of success, as an overwhelming majority of the

liberal electors preferred young Cobbett, but he would listen to no entreaty, and the Tory was returned, in consequence of the obstinacy of O'Connor.

Since that time Fergus's character has stood very low in Ireland, though he has made various attempts to regain it. It has been observed by many that no culpability can directly attach to him, because other members of the House of Commons have been unseated exactly on the same ground. Mr. O'Neill Daunt's character was never called in question; Sir Samuel Whalley—Mr. O'Dwyer (who was twice unseated on the same ground)—nor Mr. Wilberforce have never been accused of dishonesty, though they have been unseated for want of qualification. Mr. Wilberforce had the opinion of one of the first conveyancers of the day that his qualification was a great one; in Mr. O'Dwyer's case there was considerable doubt on the point of law. Besides O'Connor had an income larger than the qualification, unlike other cases, where it was matter of notoriety that the candidate's income did not equal the qualification.

In 1835, however, his Irish supporters took a decided dislike to O'Connor's conduct. Many

there were who were glad to have an excuse for crushing him, and apparent grounds for imputing dishonesty were eagerly seized upon by those who had other reasons, such as political jealousies, for disliking him. All those who were acquainted with him bore the highest testimony to his honour in all the transactions of private life. He was punctilious in all his other engagements, and never shewed any symptom of pravity of character.

The career of Fergus in England need not be noticed in these pages. It is, perhaps, unexampled for recklessness and audacious absurdity in doing mischief. He has contrived, by his outrageous language, to give to Chartism even a heavier blow than that which he inflicted upon "Repeal" by compelling O'Connell to enter upon its discussion in Parliament, than which a more fatal course could not be possibly suggested by its deadliest enemy.*

* But in that policy Fergus received the support of several unimpeachably honest "Joints of the Tail," so that he did not stand alone in his opinion. It is worthy of notice, however, that he injured whatever cause he took into his protection. Perhaps his abilities, rather his intentions ought to be objects of distrust with those who profess his revolutionary politics.

Upon the whole nothing can more forcibly show the state of Ireland, while the first Repeal Agitation was raging, than the career of "Fergus O'Connor, Esquire, of Fort Robert."

So suggestive has that career been thought, that in the novel of "The Wife Hunter," some of his adventures, as well as those of his friend and relative, Mr. O'Neil Daunt,* have been described under the disguise of fiction.

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* Mr. Daunt did not long represent the town of Mallow, to which he rendered considerable evil, by his hasty incursion. He was unseated by Mr. Jephson on a petition, to which Mr. Daunt made no defence whatever. It is only right to state that he was very ill at the time. But never did a vain glorious project produce more evil to a small community, than Mr. Daunt's election for Mallow. He introduced within a happy town, the curse of social discord; in his cause, and on his behalf, several poor electors suffered severely from their landlords, as the gentry who voted against him were also subjected to unsparing denunciation. It was many years before society in Mallow recovered from the ill effects produced by the ambition of Mr. Daunt.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE GREAT DAN AND HIS TAIL.

"You know my admiration for Elizabeth, but do you think because I admire her, that I cannot understand O'Neil? Because I honour Wellington, must I see in O'Connell an incarnate fiend?"

VON RAUMER.

In the first Session of the Reformed Parliament O'Connell raised himself to a degree of political consequence in England, that could not have been anticipated from the comparative failure of his previous efforts in the House of Commons. He appeared for the first time to feel himself "at home" in St. Stephen's.

There was then so much noise and turbulence in the Debates, and such a jostling of provincial politicians striving to obtain Parliamentary celebrity, that he felt himself in his native element of agitation. Partly by the aid of his Tail—partly by the English Radicals, but principally by his own great powers, which then burst forth upon Parliament with full vigour, he became an object of first rate political importance, and the leaders of the two constitutional parties regarded his movements as fraught with the deepest interest. Sir Robert Peel watched with complacence, the progress of the schism that rent in twain the Reform Party.

In the Radical body, as it then existed in Parliament, O'Connell was the only man of towering abilities, and if he had been an Englishman, with the confidence of the middle classes, it is impossible to say to what height of power he would have reached. The contrast between his popular talents, and those of the Philosophica Radicals was almost ludicrous, and is worth dwelling upon.

There never was a body of more incapable politicians than the Parliamentary Radicals of

England. With every thing in their favour, their failure was egregious. A great cause—a favourable time for action—a people ready to follow them, all these they had, but they had no powers of producing public effect, or retaining popular sympathy. They failed because they did not deserve to be popular, because they merited the *affections* of no portion of the community. They were cold catalogues of public grievances—talking Encyclopædias stored with facts—magazines of small crotchetty plans upon momentous questions—they were books—they were systems—they were everything but MEN. They had nothing of the blood and vigour of humanity in their frozen bodies. They thought themselves profound politicians, and they called themselves philosophical, but they had no insight into human nature, no acquaintance with the real character of that mighty people whom they affected to lead. They had no love of country; no sympathy with England, and its bluff, hearty, honest prejudices; no appreciation of the life and moral strength of her people, no veneration for her Constitution, and they had a paltry, beggarly antipathy to her ancient Aristocracy. They

thought the world was all wrong, what a world it would be, if they had been permitted to set it right!

Consider that there is no such thing as History, or traditionary feeling; treat the mind of England as a *tabula rasa;* set to work the Humes, Warburtons, Molesworths, upon systems digested from Bentham's Catechisms, and the Westminster Review—then you will reform the country, and content the people!

All the Parliamentary and (self-styled) philosophical Radicals must not be "tarred with the same brush." Some amongst them had perverted understandings, but had right and natural feelings. These (alas! they were but few) had generous sentiments with utilitarian convictions. But they were utterly unfitted for the work they had undertaken; levellers in their creed, and gentlemanly in their habits,—refined Radicals—polite leaders of the grim and gloomy masses! Such men as these were as much out of their sphere, as Cobbett would have been at Almacks, or Count D'Orsay at the Dublin Corn Exchange. How could such men wield a nation? How could they represent and embody the honest prejudices and characteristic passions of a people, or define

the hopes, and shadow forth the feelings of an English Democracy ?*

A British O'Connell would have been worth legions of such men. He would have done much at least to *represent* the people, even though he would have failed in the higher department of Statesmanship. He would not have been *the* man wanted, but still (had he been an Englishman,) he would have sustained the popular party with energy and vigour. He would not have allowed the physical power of the masses to fret itself away. He would have done something to make it effective. Undoubtedly he would not have realised the want of a great English public leader felt

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* They did much to bring Utilitarian Philosophy into odium. So far their evil would have worked for good, if they had not also encreased the antipathy of the English mind towards ALL speculative philosophy. They caused people to forget that England was the country of Bacon as well as Bentham; of the sublime Bishop Butler, as well as the morose James Mill; and that Burke "the greatest philosopher in action that the world ever saw" had grown up beneath the Institutions which he lived to vindicate, as well as the whole brood of Utilitarian thinkers, who have aspersed the national Polity, and have no appreciation of their country.

in 1833. The mind of the country was agitated almost as much as its passions, and there were chords in the English public feeling that an O'Connell could not cause to vibrate, although they would have powerfully responded to the genius of a British Mirabeau.

As things were, what a sriking contrast was the Great Dan, pleading against the Irish Coercion Bill, when compared with the feeble Parliamentary Benthamites! With a hostile audience—with prejudices of all sorts opposed to him—with a cause, in which there was as much to be said *against* as *for* him, he was still an admirable popular representative, and formidable Member of Parliament. Kindled by his protracted quarrel with Lord Stanley—feeling himself influential in Parliament for the first time, he became thoroughly roused, and exhibited his innate energies in their greatest strength. No doubt he often shocked the fastidious with his vulgarity, and revolted all sense of propriety by the licentious recklessness of his language, as when he called the House of Commons "Six hundred scoundrels," and disgusted the public as he tried to equivocate, when denounced by Lord Stanley (in a

withering invective) for having uttered such expressions. All that no doubt is quite true. But no fair person could have witnessed O'Connell's Parliamentary efforts in 1833, without giving him the full meed of praise, as an extraordinary natural orator, and politician of gigantic resolution, and powers of producing public effect. He exhibited greater natural powers than any of his Parliamentary contemporaries. He was by turns humorous and pathetic—declamatory and argumentative. With terrible ferocity he hacked the "bloody and brutal Whigs," assailing them night after night with a physical energy, and a display of intellectual power, that were really astounding, and which came upon, the House of Commons with surprise. The Man O'Connell, in all his natural prowess, had never before been known Parliament, and little chivalry must that political opponent possess, who could tamely record the effects produced, and difficulties overcome in that year, by the popular genius of the Irish Agitator.

When it suited the purposes of the Whig party to enter into an alliance with O'Connell in the year 1835, the word was passed through the coteries to talk and write up his reputation.

Accordingly, many who in 1833, had loudly abused him, affected, in two years after, to discover extraordinary merits in the man. Vituperation gave place to fulsome flattery, and he who had been denounced as the basest, was then extolled as one of the greatest public characters of the age. In the eyes of genteel Liberals, he became wonderfully great, as soon as Whig Dukes and Marquises openly subscribed to his tribute.

But it was in 1833 that he really displayed political greatness. From 1835 to 1842 he was in smooth water, and exhibited no such powers as he manifested in the first session of the Reformed Parliament. Never was there so great an effort made to crush a public man, and never perhaps did a single individual more triumphantly defy a host of formidable enemies. The London Press assailed him with unexampled virulence, and even refused to report his speeches. The Whigs and Tories both combined against him, but he seemed to derive vigour from their attacks. Those who have seen and heard him in Committee fighting against the Irish Coercion Bill, can never forget that huge massive figure staggering with rage—the face darkened with all the feelings

of scorn and rancour, while he vengefully prophecied a future Irish Rebellion, and with gloomy smiles exulted in the troubles of England. He might have cried to the British Legislature—

> " ——— make your bondmen tremble—
> Must I observe you ? Must I stand and crouch
> Under your testy humour ? By the Gods !
> You shall digest the venom of your spleen
> Tho' it do split you."

His personal hatred to Lord Stanley was encreased by the energy and ability with which the Chief Secretary demonstrated the vital connection between prædial and political agitation, and the gestures with which the Agitator accompanied his invectives against the Secretary for Ireland faithfully indicated the emotions convulsively raging in his breast. As much as a mere speaker could do, he applied physical force to Parliament. He acted to perfection the part of an Irish rebel, and made one for the time believe that he would shout—

> " To your tents, O Israel."

He looked (as he was) the historical successor of the Desmonds and O'Neils of Irish history—

as a man who trod on political soil that had lain fallow since the fall of the last of the Stuarts. He uttered no grand things that dazzled like the lightnings of the elder Pitt or Henry Grattan, but his passion, as then exhibited in Parliament, was grand, because it was great, real, and true, unlike the petty concocted wrath of Mr. Sheil's fits of mock phrenzy. There was nothing of the ideal in his oratory; the tawdry rags of fine language that he sometimes exhibited gave a vulgar, patched appearance to his rough, muscular style, which stood in no need of the little graces of rhetoric. But coarse, stern, and real, he was a powerful representative of the people in whose name he spoke; the man was far grander and more impressive than his matter.

He proved that earnestness will always *tell* in the House of Commons. Never did any one say more unpalateable things in Parliament, and never was any one better listened to than O'Connell in 1833. In the following year when he discussed the Repeal Question how great was the contrast! The House then felt him tedious, prosy, and very dull, because he spoke at wearisome length, and in nowise like a man in earnest. But his denunciations of

the Coercion Bill were heard in breathless silence—he swelled to his full moral dimensions, and extorted admiration even from his adversaries, while he furiously battled with a hostile House of Commons.

How much more would such a man have done for the popular cause than a legion of Henry Warburtons and Joe Humes! Mechanical utterers of first principles; dogged calculators, who fancy themselves public *representatives*, because they prove popular wrongs statistically, and tell the national agonies in pounds, shillings, and pence; men who confound parsimony with economy, and admire Hampden not for having resisted oppression, but because he opposed paying *money*—such men are miserable expositors of popular opinion, and their arithmetical exaggerations are fully as pernicious, as the declamatory bombast of the worst demagogues.

To estimate with fairness O'Connell's Parliamentary abilities, it must be recollected that he entered the House of Commons, at the time of life to which the present Prime Minister has attained—the fifty-fifth year of his age. Thus he was "transplanted" at a very late period of

life. The change from companionship with the Jack Lawlesses, Tom Steeles, and other phrenetic patriots, to personal contact with the Peels, Russells, and Stanleys, of English Politics was very rapid. In 1828, he went the Munster Circuit, and took three guinea briefs, and in 1833, he was confessedly one of the leading men in the British Parliament. How many great lawyers have been contemptible failures in the House of Commons! geniuses as Erskine and Curran failed to obtain senatorial success corresponding to their pre-eminence at the Bar.

When we recollect these things—the combination entered into against him—the great battle he fought against his assailants, in and out of the House of Commons, and that he had not been bred in Parliament—we must admit that his qualified success in the Legislature was a greater personal triumph, than many famous political leaders, if placed in his circumstances, would have been able to achieve.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE GREAT DAN AND HIS TAIL.

(CONTINUED.)

" ---------- ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum,
Extollit, quoties voluit fortuna jocari."

JUVENAL.

THE *soubriquet* of " The Tail" which has adhered so tenaciously to the O'Connellite Members of Parliament, was conferred upon them by the *Dublin Evening Post.* The exact relation which the M.P. Repealers bore to the head of their party, O'Connell, was faithfully conveyed by the idea of *a tail,* every joint of which was compelled to wag right or left as its owner

pleased. As there is no rule without an exception, so the principle, as expressed by Pulteney to the Duke of Newcastle, "that parties, like snakes, are moved by their tails," met with a very emphatic contradiction in the case of O'Connell's party. The nominees of the old Boroughmongers were never so dependent for political existence upon their patrons as "the joints" were upon the mighty owner of "the tail." When any joint wriggled rebelliously, excision was had recourse to, and a more obedient piece of caudal matter inserted in the vacant place.

In the Revolution in the Irish Representation, which took place on the Election for the first Reformed Parliament, three things are especially worthy of notice.

1st—The change in *the class* of Irish Representatives.

2dly—The ingratitude with which the Repealers treated Liberal Protestants who had zealously battled for Emancipation, and high-minded Catholics who had figured prominently in the Catholic Association.

3dly—The duplicity with which Repeal was made the test for trying a candidate upon the hustings, though when the elections were over,

it was announced that the question would not be brought before Parliament.

Of the *class* of the new Members, or "Mimburs," as they were called, it was remarked at the time by a liberal Journalist, "We did not think it was in human nature, that such persons as ——— and ———, should be members of Parliament." Even the *cotè gauche* in Irish politics was surprised at *the organic change* effected in the Irish Members. Previously Ireland had been represented almost exclusively by Aristocrats, and it was considered presumptuous in a wealthy Merchant to aspire even to the representation of a city. The Tory and Whig Aristocracy divided the representation, and cities and trading boroughs were almost exclusively represented by the scions of the nobility, or by squires of large landed estates. The Irish M.P.'s were much more aristocratic in their composition than the English Representatives. So late as the year 1829, it was a decided objection to an Irish candidate, that he was not of a leading family—that he was merely a man of wealth, and that he was engaged in trade. Whilst the struggle for Emancipation was going forward some ambitious Tories, not of the Aristocracy, but *novi*

*homines*, aspired to represent some cities and towns in Ireland, and the Whigs and Liberals were always sure to avail themselves of the popular respect for antiquity and blood, as means for damaging the pretensions of Tory Merchants. A Protestant bigot and a wealthy upstart had little chance when contending with some scion of an ancient, though embarrassed family, that professed Liberal politics. The feeling in favour of the Aristocracy went to extravagant lengths in Ireland, and nothing can more forcibly indicate the faults of the Irish Nobility, than the odium which it has incurred amongst the most aristocratically disposed people in the world.

The Elections of Waterford, Louth, and Clare were the precursors of the revolution that took place in the feelings of the Irish Electoral body, in the year 1832, At those elections the feelings of feudal dependence, which the tenants had entertained towards the landlords, were completely swept away under the pressure of the agitation excited by the Catholic Association. Other counties in Ireland copied the example, and the tenants were in most cases prepared to follow the agitators rather than the landlords.

Thus in 1832, when the Repeal principle was made the test of a popnlar candidate, such changes as the following took place.

In the Queen's County, Mr. Patrick Lalor was returned in preference to Sir Henry Parnell, (the late Lord Congleton.)

In Dublin County Mr. Christopher Fitzimon, a barrister, but not in extensive practice, was returned for a seat, which the Whites, Talbots, Hamiltons, and Brabazons had formerly spent tens of thousands to obtain.

In Clare, which had for many years been represented by its leading families, the O'Briens of Dromoland, the Fitzgeralds, &c.—Mr. Cornelius O'Brien was elected.

In Waterford County, which the Beresfords had ruled since the Revolution, and in which the Stuarts had begun to rise in political influence—Mr. John Matthew Galway, a general dealer and mercantile agent, was returned. This gentleman became a very disobedient "joint" and after having wriggled for some time, was at last cut off.

In Kilkenny County, Mr. William Francis Finn, a barrister, but not in extensive practice, nor having a large estate, put the Aristocracy of that County to the rout.

In the city of Cashel, where the family of Pennefather had borne sway for upwards of a century, Mr. James Roe was returned, but that gentleman remained an M.P. for only two years.

In the town of Clonmel, where the Bagwell family possessed a vast property, Mr. Dominick Ronayne, a barrister, but not in extensive practice, was returned.

In the County of Meath Mr. Morgan O'Connell, who had no estate in Meath, and whose sole recommendation was his being son of O'Connell, was returned in place of Lord Killeen, who was the manliest member of the Catholic Aristocracy; and who had descended from his "order" to mingle cordially with the Catholic democracy. That an O'Connell should have claims upon any Irish popular constituency, will be readily ackeowledged by the staunchest Whig, but the pressure of those claims (and *merely* those claims) against such a man as Lord Killeen, showed absence of fine feeling,

In Youghal, the Duke of Devonshire's interest was for the time paralyzed. By means of unprecedented excitement, in which Fergus O'Connor bore the most prominent part, Mr.

John O'Connell was elected in preference to Mr. Ponsonby, who withdrew in disgust from the contest. The Conservatives set up a candidate (Mr. T. B. C. Smith, now Attorney General), but the populace, and not the voters, decided the election.

In Drogheda, Mr. Andrew O'Dwyer, a barrister, but not in extensive practice, was preferred to Mr. Wallace, a leading member of the Bar, and a gentleman of the highest attainments in philosophy and literature. Mr. Wallace had been all his life an advocate of the Catholic claims, and was so liberal in his political views, that Lord Anglesey would not promote him, but the Repealers thought more highly of Mr. A. O'Dwyer.

Kilkenny, which had been ably represented by Mr. Nicholas Philpot Leader, a gentleman of rank and fortune, and of very great acquirements, was handed over to Mr. Richard Sullivan, who, however, did not long continue its representative.

In the County of Cork, Fergus O'Connor, who was a barrister without any practice, and who subsequently lost his seat for want of a qualification, took the place of Lord Boyle, (now Earl of Shannon.)

In Mallow Borough, Mr. Daunt temporarily deprived Sir Denham Norreys of the representation *(vide* the "Rig of Fergus O'Connor.")

In Ennis, Lieutenant Mac Namara put Mr. Smith O'Brien *hors de combat.*

In the City of Dublin, Mr. Ruthven, known as "Ould Judy," was preferred by the Repealers to Mr. Perrin or Sergeant O'Loghlen (the late Master of the Rolls.)

Other changes of a similar kind were made in the Irish representation, in some few places considerably to the advantage of the country.* If the obnoxious Tories, and good-for-nothing Whigs had been expelled, no Liberal could have complained of such a change. But when one set of Members were expelled, and their places given to a batch of men who merely possessed a factitious popularity dependent on the

* As for example in the City of Cork, where the Honourable John Boyle, a puny scion of absentee Noodledom, was succeeded by Dr. Baldwin, who was an ornament and credit to the Repealers. He possessed great intellectual powers, although he obtained but little success in Parliament, which he entered too late in life. But he was a trump amongst the Tail, for he was a gentleman by birth and disposition---a man of science, and a philosopher.

breath of O'Connell—who, totally incompetent to represent the higher classes in Ireland, were even more impotent in their characters as champions of "the people"—who (although Irishmen) had none of the flashy eloquence which might have been attractive in debate, and (although in contact with the middle classes) had no practical knowledge of Irish business that would have been useful in Committees—when such men were sent into Parliament to the exclusion of many who worthily represented their country, it was no wonder that indignation was felt by the independent Liberal party in Ireland, and that from all sides (especially from the "people" who have so keen a sense of the ludicrous) the "Mimburs" were subjected to such galling derision, that most of them were glad upon the first opportunity to sneak out of Parliament into their natural insignificance.

2dly—The ingratitude with which many old friends of the Irish people were treated by the Repealers was very bad, and reflected the deepest disgrace upon them.

Sir Henry Parnell had been for nearly thirty years devoted to Irish Politics, and had been a Parliamentary supporter of the Catholic Ques-

tion, which he advocated with eloquence, consistency, and vigour. In addition to his hereditary claims on Irish affecftions, he was himself a man of whom Ireland had cause to be proud. He was so much of a Liberal that the Grey Ministry did not elevate him as high in office as he deserved. He had rendered important services to Ireland, and yet his seat was given to a Lalor! Sir Denham Norreys and Mr. Leader were liberal Protestants who had been associated not merely with the *claims*, but with the *politics* of the Catholics. Mr. Leader was a gentleman of talents and acquirements, who, while he represented Kilkenny, had spoken ably in debate. Sir Denham Norreys, when Mr. O'Connell had hardly a friend in Parliament, stood by him on many occasions, especially on the occasion of the "Doneraile Conspiracy," but Sullivan and Daunt were deemed more fit representatives of Ireland than a Leader or a Norreys.

The Catholic Aristocracy had often been taunted with holding aloof from its countrymen, and with not courageously associating with the more strenuous strugglers for Emancipation. But there were many families, that had not been obnoxious to the charge of *insouciance*, amongst others, the Catholic houses of

Plunket and Wyse had hereditary claims to the support of the Irish Liberals. In the last century, the Earl of Fingal and Mr. Wyse, of Waterford, had been most prominent in their efforts to relieve the Irish Catholics. In the Catholic Association, Lord Killeen (now Earl of Fingal) was one of the most active and zealous in the whole body, and the influence of his example powerfully attracted the Irish Gentry, who otherwise might have held aloof, deterred by the violence and absurdity of such agitators as Lawless, Steele, &c. To turn out of the representation of Meath such a politician as Lord Killeen, was in the last degree ungrateful.

One would have supposed, that any Irish constituency would have been proud of having for its representative a gentleman of the sterling character, high moral purposes, and accomplishments of Mr. Wyse. But no! he was not a cringing, supple, and ductile politician. He was not ready to become a minion of the Corn Exchange, and accordingly he was driven out of Waterford. His conduct at that time shows him to be possessed of great moral courage, and political fearlessness. Although assailed by the popular organs in Ireland with great virulence, he calmly held on the course of which his poli-

tical judgment approved. He preferred the approbation of the discerning and sensible portion of the Liberal party to the reckless plaudits of the more thoughtless portion of the Repealers, by means of whom he was, for a short time, driven from Parliament. At an entertainment given to him by the rational supporters of popular freedom, he delivered the following sentiments, which strikingly displayed his moral superiority to those apostate Whigs, who truckled to popular violence, and hypocritically professed principles in the feasibility or justice of which, they had no belief.

"I know well," cried Mr. Wyse, "that I might *have stolen into Parliament*, by vague and conditional declarations. I know well that by a little disguise, I might have slipped, untouched, through the ordeal, but I disdained all subterfuge, I thought an honour so purchased *was dearly and dishonourably purchased.* I was determined at the outset, and at any cost, to lay open the whole of my opinions, and to put it out of the power of any man, in case I was elected, to say that I had one set of doctrines for the *candidate*, and another for the *representative*—one for the Irish, another for the English side of St. George's Channel."

Such sentiments and conduct reflected the highest honour on Mr. Wyse, and when the phrenzy of agitation had subsided, he was triumphantly elected by the people of Waterford, who have since remained justly proud of such a representative.

Similar ingratitude and recklessness were displayed, when Mr. Ponsonby was driven from Youghal, and Mr. Perrin from the City of Dublin: when Mr. Smith O'Brien was ejected from Ennis, although even then he had distinguished himself by his knowledge and abilities. But when the Repealers held "ould Judy" in higher estimation than the late Sir Michael O'Loghlen, the value of their approbation need not have been esteemed highly by such men as the Killeens—Parnells—Leaders—Jephsons—Wyses—and Perrins of the Whig party in Ireland.

It is deserving of observation that the ingratitude displayed by the Repealers was impartial in respect to religion. Catholicity was no charm against the fanaticism of the hour. Very few, indeed, were those who rejoiced that the City of Limerick and the County of Cork had *Catholic* representatives, in Messrs. W. Roche and G. S. Barry, whose Protestant Colleagues,

(D. Roche and F. O'Connor) were decidedly more popular.

3rdly. One of the worst features about the Elections in 1832 was, that some members were returned on the understanding that the Repeal Question would not be brought forward in the House of Commons. First, it was proclaimed that no one should be elected, unless he pledged himself solemnly that he would vote for the Repeal of the Union, and at the same time *sub rosa* it was hinted to some candidates that if they consented to go into the House of Commons as Repealers, they would never be required to vote for the measure. On the Hustings at the County Waterford Election a very curious scene took place, when Mr. Villiers Stuart subjected Sir Richard Keane to a very stringent cross-examination, concerning the real nature of his Repeal sentiments. After a good deal of parrying and fencing, Sir Richard candidly let out the real nature of the Repeal Agitation, in a sentence which is just as true in the year 1843 as it was in 1833.

"I will hold it (the Repeal Question) *as an imposing weapon to get Justice for Ireland.*"

Thus, when real objects—such as the Extinc-

tion of Tithes—the extension of the Franchise —the Reform of Corporations, &c.—should have been aimed at *directly*, it was thought a wise plan to get up a factitious agitation, in order to frighten England into a concession of certain claims!! The prevalence of that imposing agitation *so far from making England feel liberally towards Ireland, caused sentiments of strong distrust to spring up throughout a large class of English politicians.* At the time of the Reform Bill, the "No Popery" feeling was beginning to subside, and all parties saw with astonishment a new Agitation raised in Ireland, not for the destruction of Protestantism, but for the dismemberment of the Empire. When therefore in 1832, Ireland claimed a larger number of representatives, some English Liberals were afraid to give them, least they might be made the instruments for assisting to sever the connexion between the Islands.

Those who recollect the spirited debate upon the Address in 1833, must remember the strong feelings of distrust then expressed by many decided Liberals, who were influenced altogether by the "imposing weapon which was to get Justice for Ireland." On that occa-

sion, Mr. Macaulay* and Dr. Lushington went as far in expressing the most decided hostility to the *ostensible purposes* of The Tail Party as Lord Stanley himself. The *ad terrorem* tone, assumed by the Repealers, was met with menaces as formidable in sound but much more earnest in purpose.†

Many Irish Liberals thought it a discreditable course to get up a factitious Agitation for the purpose of acting as a flapper on England. They thought with the immortal Fox, "that which was morally wrong, could never be politically right." They considered it as injurious to the permanent interest of Ireland to raise *a hollow cry* for self govetnment. They thought it derogatory to their own honor to lend their voices to such a demand, and they also thought it degrading to the political character of the country, to hold it responsible for a cause which was not *heartily* and *earnestly*

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* Mr. Macaulay's speech was, perhaps, the most vigorous he ever made. It shewed promptness and grasp of mind. Sheil's reply was very dexterous and ingenious.

† Dr. Lushington, on that occasion, (debate on address, 1833) in reply to a speech of Mr. Andrew O'Dwyer, put the same construction on the Catholic Oath which has been recently taken by Lord Brougham.

engaged in by those who unfurled its banner. *They* did not hold the doctrines that the means sanctified the end. *They* did not consider it as right policy, when the *ends* aimed at were the abolition of the Church Establishment—the extension of political power to Ireland—the carrying out of the real principles of Union, and the gradual raising, in the course of things, of a large Catholic interest—that such ends (however laudable and unobjectionable) were to be promoted by raising an anti-English cry, and demanding the legislative severance of the two countries. They disliked *tampering with the heart of the people.* They believed that the Irish Repeal Question if ever raised was not to be played with as a mere political instrument, but that it was to be dealt with for itself alone, and that it was far too grand and startling in its nature, to be vulgarised by the hackneyed clamours of professional agitation. A vast body of influential Irish Whigs were averse to pronouncing any final opinion upon the propriety of Repeal. They believed that the question should lie over until England should glaringly manifest injustice to Ireland; and they considered it a fatal policy to stun England with an unprecedented demand just after Eman-

cipation had been granted. They scorned to say that they were Repealers, when they knew that the question would, *if possible*, be shrunk from in the House of Commons by the very men who had raised the cry in Ireland.

A very comical account might be given of the "Mimburs" in London, while they were intoxicated with their recent elevation. An Hibernian Smollett would have a rich field for his humour in depicting the ludicrous pretensions of their village ambition. Fiction alone could do justice to their invasion of London, for a faithful history of their proceedings would have too much farce to obtain credit.

But alas! the Tail is more suggestive of painful than funny reflections. Amidst all the degradation of Ireland, it is a consolation to her sons, that there is such a thing as *a national mind*, which was once represented by men of intellectual power. Without regarding the Burkes, Sheridans, or Canpings, Ireland had returned to the Imperial Parliament, Grattan, Plunket, Ponsonby, Newport, Parnell, Croker, and others who reflected credit on their native country by abilities and accomplishments, but where are we to look for the genius of the

Tail? It will not do to point to O'Connell and Sheil—one was its owner, and the other soon severed himself from the other joints. There were some forty members in all—they had an oppressed nation to represent—a glorious opportunity for shewing capacity for affairs, practical Statesmanship, or the characteristic eloquence of their country. If you believed their assertions they were embarked in as great a cause as the Irish Patriots of 1782. They affected to be *the* Irish Members. Did their deeds or proceedings reflect either credit on themselves, or lustre on their country? Not one of them attained a third rate Parliamentary reputation.*

Had they been genuine Irish nationalists, devoted to the redemption of their native land, it is impossible but that *the cause* would have produced some moral strength amongst them. But no! they were an *O'Connellite*, and not an IRISH party. They were the creatures of the

* The present Irish Gironde party, led by Mr. W. S. O'Brien, and comprising Sir W. Somerville, Mr. Morgan John O'Connell, Serjeant Murphy, &c., must not be confounded with "The Tail."

Corn Exchange, and not offspring "racy of the soil." They were the nominees of the priests, and not the exponents of the public opinion. The source of their political existence was agitation of the populace, and not the inspiring power of genuine nationality. *Their* nationality! a potato stalk, and not the Shamrock was its emblem.

It would be difficult to have procured forty Irishmen with less of the wit or sparkling talents that abound in the "Emerald Isle." The charge against them was not merely that they were such paltry senators, but that they were such wretched specimens of their countrymen. Judged by an Irish standard, without the slightest reference to English taste, their *morale* was of the lowest kind. There was nothing grand or elevating in their Donnybrook Fair school of patriotism. They could make a noise, and display animal vivacity, but when intellectual manifestations were demanded, they were powerless.* With great opportunities, their party remained without distinction, for wit, eloquence, or conspicuous ability. Terribly

* Witness the debate on the Repeal Question in 1834.

afraid of O'Connell, who used them as the fingers and toes of his political system, they

> "Cringed to his face, consulted, and revered
> His oracles—detested him—and feared."

Were there three hundred such men in a House of Commons at College Green, would the MIND of the country own allegiance to them? Unless completely extinguished by democratic terrorism, or wholesale superstition, it would blaze up *against*, and not with them. Ireland would have to regenerate herself, in spite, and not by means, of characters like those.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS.

No public body in Ireland is so perfectly homogeneous as the Catholic Clergy. Puseyites, Lutherans, and Calvinists, are to be found in the Establishment; at the Bar men of all parties and opinions, religious and political, abound; in the Medical Profession there is great diversity of political sentiments; but the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy are one conglo-

merate mass, in whose component parts it is hardly possible to discern distinction. They are all taken from the humblest classes in society; nearly all of them are educated at Maynooth; inheriting the same recollections, they cherish the same prejudices; aspiring to the same objects, they adopt the same methods of attaining them. They are all strong politicians, many of them constant, most of them fierce in the assertion of the prevailing popular opinions.

The most visible distinction in this awful body is that between the urban and rural clergy. The former, as may be expected, are considerably more polished in their manners, and moderate in the expression of their opinions. They do not strut and swagger like their brethren in the country districts, feeling themselves matched in intelligence and acquirements by the Catholic merchants and shopkeepers of the towns. They cannot give the law to an entire district—excite or lull the passions of a peasantry. Their sphere of action is more limited, and they accordingly suit themselves to their position. Besides, living in presence of large Protestant bodies, they do not feel that sense of boundless dominion which

makes the heart of the country priest swell with pride, as riding round his parish he finds himself spiritual "monarch of all he surveys." In most of the Irish towns, Protestantism exists as a direct antagonism, in the country it has only a nominal existence.*

No men have ever been more lavishly praised, and more ferociously vituperated than the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland. By one set of Newspapers they are held up as the most illustrious, in another they are anathematised as the most detestable of mankind. In the Liberal Newspapers, you will never find (out of Ulster) a solitary sentence of manly criticism upon the frequent violence and habitual swagger of the clerical body;—in the Conservative Press you will never read a handsome acknowledgment of the thousandfold acts of good performed by the Irish priests. Never were a

* By its antagonism Protestantism produces considerable moral improvement in Catholicity. As compared with the religion of Spain and Belgium, the Church of Rome exists in Ireland, under an improved and mitigated form. The most objectionable parts of its ecclesiastical apparatus (such as relics, &c.) are not exhibited. Any attempt to exaggerate religious forms will be a fatal step for the Priests. Let them OVERDO their religion, and they will go far to overthrow it.

clergy worse treated by friends and foes. The former offer them the homage of a blind, indiscriminate adulation, and the latter are so purblind by prejudice, as not to give applause where frequently it is richly deserved.

When the circumstances of Ireland are considered, and when one forgets the Priests as politicians, it is impossible for any candid mind not to admit that the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy are zealous and untiring in the discharge of their religious duties—unwearied in their pastoral offices—steadfast in their combat against moral evils, and heroic in their contempt for all the dangers to which they are exposed. They are never cowed for an instant by pestilence or famine. They go on undismayed, warning, exhorting, and consoling their miserable flocks. They never dally with the vicious, but unswervingly point to the world beyond the grave. Never did any clergy more faithfully perform its *ecclesiastical* duties.

When, however, we contemplate them as politicians and members of general society their aspect is changed. They are violent bigots, and most intolerant of all authority. They hate the Protestants, and are envious not merely of their superior social station, but of

their manners and acquirements. They are violent democratic partizans, and glory in hectoring the Aristocracy, and inflaming the minds of their followers. To a mere politician (whether he be Repealer or Orangeman) the Catholic Clergy in Ireland are one vast league of sacerdotal demagogues. They are the ready tools of O'Connell—the implements of agitation, and social conductors of his opinions. He blarneys them—they adulate him. He views the priests as his steadiest supporters—they regard him as the doughtiest champion of their interests. Between both it is *ka me ka thee* It must be observed, however, that the priests are leagued to O'Connell by the old ties of gratitude. Unquestionably, he conferred greater favours on their body than was in the power of a dozen Popes to give. Had Emancipation been granted thirty years since—nay even in 1822—would have been different.

There is no use in attacking the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy. Their faults are the results not of their creed but of their social position, and of their country's unhappy state. The priests are effects, rather than causes. Their Church was degraded and rendered despicable. Persons of superior station, declined entering

the Priesthood. Even the young men of the middle classes looked down upon it. The Catholic Church was left to recruit its pastors from the families of humble farmers and the peasantry, and these latter classes rejoiced to have their sons made *gentlemen.* To the tiller of the soil it was a proud thing that his little "Phaudrig" or "Shemus"* should be styled "Rev. Sir" or P.P."—that he should be dining with "the genteels"—and confronting his landlord on the hustings. He saw his son, that a few years before had been a ragged little urchin, playing about the roads—emerge from Maynooth clothed in decent black—write English fluently and read, nay even construe Latin, with an unfaltering tongue. He saw him, clothed in pontificals—ascend the altar—perform the dread mysteries of religion, and change the elements of bread and wine into "the body and blood—soul and divinity of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." He saw the Catholic ladies of the parish going to confession, and kneeling down before his little Paddy. He beheld his humble offspring changed into a Priest—that is (in the eyes of the uninstructed

* Patrick, and James.

peasant) a being powerful to save and to curse. He heard him haranguing at political meetings, outshining the young, agitating Counsellor,* and casting into the shade even the liberal Magistrate in the chair. Hence it became the ambition of nearly every decent farmer to get one of his boys made a priest. So far there would have been no evil, but unfortunately to the Catholic Clergyman himself there has resulted considerable detriment.

The great objection made to the Roman Catholic creed, even by its mildest and most truly philosophical opponents, is the enormous power which, under its most favourable system, it confers upon the priesthood. It creates a spiritual aristocracy, and necessarily generates a *caste* of consecrated men. In any state of society, a Catholic Priest is a formidable person, from the reverence that is paid him by his flock. He becomes a *puissance* wherever Catholics exist. But in Catholic countries, his sense of power is considerably qualified in his own eyes by external considerations. The respect due to his superiors in station and influence prevents

* In Ireland, a barrister is called "Counsellor," by the humble classes.

his displaying that odious and domineering arrogance, which but too commonly disgraces the Irish Catholic Clergy.

Every Irish Catholic, not blinded by absurd prejudice, must admit that the Priests are most overbearing in their tone and manners. Amongst their own flocks they are *exigeant* in their expectations. Their character is precisely what might be reasonably expected from antecedent circumstances. They have not only the consequential deportment of priests, but there is superadded the arrogance of upstarts. In the society of those who fear them not, such as Protestants, and persons accustomed to mix largely, they display a morbid sensitiveness. As the saying goes, you must always be "on your P's and Q's" with an Irish priest. When in company with one of them, it is difficult to retain natural ease; every petty and antiquated form of ceremonial politeness must be carefully performed.

In France, Italy, Spain, and other Catholic countries, the Nobility and Gentry contribute their fair portion towards supplying the ecclesiastical Ministry. Even to this day, in France, men of ancient birth and honorable families abound in the Church, but in Ireland, it would be diffi-

cult to indicate any eminent families educating younger sons for the Priesthood. The Bellews —Wyses—Plunkets (Earls of Fingal) Brownes (Earls of Kenmare)—the Goolds--Barrys—Roches — Baldwins — O'Connells — Scullys—Mahons—Ryans—Keatinges—Lalors — O'Doherties — Butlers — Kirwans — O'Meaghers — Dillons—and Blakes give no priests to the Catholic Church. Plenty of old *names* are to be found in the Irish Priesthood, but clergymen of old families of the Catholic Commoners are now-a-days "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*" There is not one of the Liberator's own large family, either of his numerous sons or nephews, holding any clerical office!

Ultra Catholics of the Irish Democracy may denounce their Peers and leading Commoners as "base, Catholic aristocrats," and hint that it is pride prevents them educating any of their younger sons for the Church. But this is not true, for the entire *well to do* class in the Catholic body is open precisely to the same charge. Wealthy shopkeepers, who can bring up their sons as barristers, physicians, or attorneys, never force them into the Church. On the other hand, farmers drive their "promising boys" to gratify their own parental ambition. They

have them sent off to Maynooth at sixteen years of age, and the unhappy youngster often finds himself yoked upon compulsion to a life of celibacy. To be sure he may "lose his vocation," i. e. after having been four years at college, when he finds himself on the eve of manhood, and beginning to experience the workings of the most powerful and natural of human passions—he may hesitate about his fitness for a life of celibacy—he may communicate his scruples to his father and friends. Aye! and deeply mortify his poor father who has spent a good deal on his pension at the College, and in making him a gentleman. Besides there is a great prejudice against young men who have lost their vocations.* They are looked on as sneaking fellows, and it is commonly said, "as they were there (i. e. at Maynooth) they ought to have gone on with it." Oh! there have been many cases of broken hearts resulting from this odious and revolting system of priestly celibacy. Many a young priest has

* There have been many men of a high order of mind, who "lost their vocation" at Maynooth. Amongst many others, Chief Baron Woulfe; Carleton, the Novellist; and Callanan, the Poet. Celibacy will be the cause of the first great schism in the Irish Catholic Church.

died of what is uncharitably called a languishing consumption, whose real malady was his dreariness of heart at finding himself a solitary being in the world, without any dear object on whom he might lavish his exuberant affections. He is married to the Church, forsooth! Miserable mockery! He has been given the passions and affections of a human Being by the Almighty, but he is not to gratify them! Endowed with the common susceptibility of man, he is to mingle with the sex, and to be passionless as a statue. In the confessional he is to hear gentle woman, with her trusting heart, artlessly relate her emotions—he is to hearken to the fluttering thoughts of young LOVE as it first exists in its wild freshness—he is to be familiar with all the winning little ways of woman,* but he is *never —never to love!*

The absence of men of consideration on the score of family respectability is a serious evil in the Irish Catholic Church. The great evil

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* Oh that I were, sweet Madeline—
The happy Monk of Tombeline,
When half in hope, and half in fear
Thy red lips breathe into his ear
Little trespasses that twine
Round thy meek heart—Madeline.
WINTHORP MACKWORTH PRAED.

produced by it is the disgusting arrogance of very many Priests, who use their suddenly acquired power, as a *parvenu* does his wealth for the purpose of idle display and offensive ostentation. The very idea on which the edifice of the Church of Rome is founded is aristocratic—it is a vast and systemmetrical of gradations and ecclesiastical order from the choristers to the Cardinals. If men of natural refinement were introduced into the Irish Clergy, the whole body would be gradually leavened, and vulgar vehemence with sacerdotal arrogance would soon disappear. It is most unfortunate that Catholicity should have contracted a democratic habit in Ireland. It makes popular opinion the shrine at which the clergy pay court.

When a Catholic ecclesiastic utters some vulgar democratic rant, one cannot help being surprised at his temerity. What is a Hierarchy but an Ecclesiastical Aristocracy? Nay, what is a Bishop, but an Aristocrat? He is elected not by a popular, but by a privileged body carefully set apart from the rest of the community.

His election must afterwards be confirmed by the Pope in Council—he is then styled "My Lord." What is this but an Aristocrat? When was it laid down by any Catholic Doctor,

that popular authority "the *vox populi*" constituted an element in the great hypothesis on which the Church of Rome was founded? The Protestant religion, even in its most aristocratic systems, recognises the State. In the Presbyterian Church, a spiritual Democracy is established, but where is there any similar idea in the Church of Rome? Yet Catholic Priests are to be found ranting as intemperately in favour of *ultra*-democratic government as the noisiest and most reckless of the Chartists. Would they grant their flocks the right of choosing their Priests? Oh, no! They are ready to apply the democratic principle *outside*, but not *inside* the Church. A democratic Priesthood and a body of ecclesiastical demagogues are very different things.

In a very paradoxical passage M. De Tocqueville contends that the religion of the Church of Rome is most favourable to Democracy. He reasons thus:—

1st—In the Church of Rome the religious community is composed of only two elements—the Priests and the People.

2dly—The Catholic Faith, on doctrinal points, places all human capacities upon the same level.

3dly—Catholicism is like an absolute Monarchy, where, if the Sovereign be taken away, all the other classes are more equal than they are in Republics. (*Vid.* Democracy in America, vol. 2, p. 225.)

The reply is obvious :—

1st—The Church of Rome may have two elements in its community—Protestantism has but one. Its Ministers are upon the same spiritual level with their flocks. They are expounders of the law of God, and are not regarded as half-mortal half-angelic beings, potent to save and damn mankind.

2dly—What M. de Tocqueville, says of the Catholic Faith is true of all religious Faith. Where the reasoning faculty has its legitimate scope is, in determining what are proper objects of Faith, and at that ascertained point the Newtons, Boyles, and Miltons, must believe as implicitly as the most monkish intellects in Europe.

3dly—The admission that Catholicism is like an absolute Monarchy, contradicts the hypothesis that it is most favourable to Democracy, because M. de Tocqueville, in a previous passage (vol. 2, p. 122) says, "Every religion is to be found in juxta position with a political

opinion which is connected with it by affinity." But according to his own admission Catholicism is like an absolute Monarchy, yet it is most favourable to Democracy!

The truth is that Catholicism is favourable to every species of *absolutism*, Kingly, Aristocratic, and Popular. Whatever is the most powerful principle of action in any country, with that Catholicity will ally itself, and the remark of Aristotle, that the same nature is common to the demagogue and courtier, is strikingly exemplified by the history and present conduct of the Church of Rome.

But the characters of Democracy and Roman Catholicity are essentially opposed to each other. Democracy insists upon the inalienable right of self-government, the Church of Rome as vehemently demands obedience. One looks with hopeful feeling upon Human Nature, and perhaps exaggerates its capacity for improvement; the other, intent upon itself, disparages the moral strength of mankind. Freedom is the purpose, and "ultra pergere" the motto of one; Empire is the object, and "semper eadem" the watchword of the other.

## CHAPTER XX.

"Amongst the Protestants and Catholics in Ireland, let there be equality of rights, and not equality of privation."

CHIEF BARON WOULFE.

It is very easy to point out the causes of those abnormal evils in the Irish Catholic Church; but the question is how to remedy them. Wholly to cure them is perhaps impossible. While the Catholic Church exists in its present shape, the great evil of a formidable Priesthood will remain, but its morbid action may be considerably mitigated.

To drive Catholicity from the minds of the Irish, may be pronounced impossible. It is almost as nationalized as the peculiar humour of the people. The striking forms, and theatrical ceremonies recommend it to the Irish popular taste, which has a violent predilection for what is vivid, and acts powerfully on the

senses. The Protestant Religion appears cold and austere. Besides it is associated in the popular mind with recollections of defeat, with tithes, bloodshed, and fretful litigation.*

The only portion of the Irish Catholics likely to withdraw from the Church of Rome, are persons of a certain frame of mind, developed by education, whose understandings reject the bondage of a sternly dogmatic creed. To such persons the present state of Irish Catholicity offers most repulsive features.

Dogmatism is the ruling idea in the Irish Roman Catholic Church. The religion of Rome is not even conceived of under its philosophical form. There is no double doctrine at Maynooth—no esotericism at Carlow—it is all dogmatism. It would be a great advance in the civilisation of Ireland, if a philosophical school could be founded within the Irish Catholic Church. It would go far to introduce the sentiments of Liberality and Toleration. Catholicism has just as little to fear from a true philosophy as Protestantism. A bad philosophy, such as the worst kind of

* Puseyism may yet contribute to the diffusion of Protestant opinions in Ireland. An organic worship would give a less alien character to the Reformed Religion.

Utilitarianism, is more dangerous to the Catholic than to the Protestant system, because the latter exposes a narrower front; but no truth can be more clearly demonstrated than that the philosophy which can thoroughly destroy Catholicism, is also equal to the extirpation of Protestantism. Still this fact leaves without alteration the great difference between the two religions, a difference that nothing can remove.

In Letters, Science, and polite studies, the Irish Priests have small proficiency. They have no taste (with a few exceptions) for scholarship, for the higher philosophy, or the more refined literature.* The Parliamentary Debates—O'Connell's speeches, and the local newspapers form their literary aliment, and the Dublin Review is their most instructive reading. Few of them are scholars—even their College Professors are miserably deficient in capacity. So carefully devised, however, has the Catholic

* It is well known that the Priests of the City of Cork are vastly superior in manners and acquirements to the rest of the Irish Catholic Clergy. As a natural consequence they occupy a higher social position than the Priests in other parts of Ireland. Distinguished by liberal tastes and refined manners, they may be justly exempted from the strictures applicable to the rest of the Irish Priesthood.

system been, that a man cannot become a priest without knowing thoroughly a good many of the most important truths in Human Nature. The discipline of the Church itself—the sentiment of Catholicism so affecting from its antiquity—the writings of St. Augustine (habitually read by most of the clergy), and the logic of Aristotle, combine to give something of a high education to the Catholic Priests. Having been trained to a regular system, they possess moral habits of a fixed character, and from their disciplined mode of life, they obtain more or less of moral power. However, a man may be a formidable Priest, and a most useful servant of Holy Church, and yet be as behind the progression of society, as if he were living in the fourteenth century.

Fifty years since, and even considerably later, the Irish Priests were of a different stamp. It may be said that they were the antipodes of their successors, in all that relates to character, and manners. As these are demagogues, so those were courtiers. In former times the Priests were educated on the Continent, and imbibed the ideas that prevailed before the French Revolution. They were fashionably pliant in their personal carriage, and

gentlemanly in their demeanour. Whatever their libellers may have said, they were not men addicted to vice or attached to violence. They were strikingly polite, affable, and well read. They were not the worse Catholics for having been true gentlemen; and for possessing the genuine spirit of courtesy. They had seen much of the world, and had observed that in countries where Protestantism was not heard of, that injustice—misery in all its shapes, and the various evils of life prevailed as well as in Ireland. Although proscribed by a Protestant Legislature they did not feel towards the religion of Protestantism, that sourness and acerbity of feeling exhibited by their successors. Much of the very flattering portrait drawn by Burke of the French Clergy was truly applicable to the Irish ecclesiastics of fifty years since. "Beyond the clerical character, they seemed to be liberal and open; with the hearts of gentlemen and men of honour; neither insolent nor servile in their manners or conduct. They seemed to be rather a superior class; a set of men, amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a Fenelon. A few of them were men of eminent sanctity, and charity without limit." None of them resembled those of the

French Clergy for whose excesses Burke has apologized in a passage, the converse of which might with some truth be applied to the present race of Irish Priests—"Certain individuals amongst them made amends for their want of the severe virtues in their possession of the liberal." It might be said with fairness "Most of the Irish Priests in 1843 make amends for their want of the liberal virtues, in their possession of the severe."

A revolution in manners amongst the Irish Priests would be attended with great advantages to the whole country. Their own moral power would be encreased by a superior and more generous education. Without losing the affections of the people, they would receive, in exchange for the coarse species of power they now enjoy, an elevating moral influence resulting from the discerning approbation of general society. Their power would not terminate with their congregations—they would be sure to conciliate the affections of their lay Protestant countrymen.

They may affect to despise such ends—they may pretend to disregard the Protestants, their feelings, and tastes, but if their contempt be

real, and not pretended, then they are short-sighted, and do not clearly understand their own position—no! nor the position of Catholicism in Ireland. *The growing race of Catholics, in an age of reading and inquiry, will care little for the high-toned pretensions of a body of men not so well educated as themselves—their superiors only in the extent of their claims.* A well taught and refined Catholic laity will not have much deference for mere Church pretensions. Thus there may be gradually developed a class of opinions more dangerous to Catholicity than openly avowed Protestantism, or than the most daring Philosophy. It is far harder for the ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome to deal with a spreading spirit of contemptuous indifferentism, amongst their nominal adherents, than with the propagation of a schism that courts the light of day.

What the friend to civilization and mental progress, should endeavour to hasten in the religious affairs of Ireland, is to elevate the Catholic Church in its intellectual character, and to mingle more of sentiment with the stern theology of the Protestant. A common ground should be made on which the adherents of the

two religions might meet. Raising the standard of education amongst the Catholic Clergy would go far to produce that effect.

With respect, however, to the State acting upon the Church of Rome, it would be a fatal policy to meddle *hastily* with that Church in Ireland, unless the affections of the Catholics be secured. England must deal honestly and frankly, and shew that in seeking to raise their Clergy in the social scale, her object is not to deprive the people of political power, but to do justice to the whole Irish Nation. The question must first be discussed, and public opinion conciliated towards that desirable object. The mere cry of the Priesthood, "We don't want payment from the State," may be construed in the "*nolo episcopari*" sense. If the lay Catholics be brought to see the subject in its true light, viz., that there can be no genuine social equality of the Churches, while the Priests are manifestly inferior in education and manners to the Clergy of the Establishment, much progress will have been made to the settlement of the question.

"Put the Churches upon an equality." You cannot do so in Ireland, without raising the condition, and improving the manners of the

Catholic Clergy. Austerity of habits, and regularity in religious observances, cannot of themselves give a Clergy the respect of general society. They must be esteemed as men, and not merely feared as Priests. The Law alone cannot equalise their condition. While the Protestant Clergymen obtain a more liberal education, they will be more respected and esteemed by the opinion of society, than the Catholic ecclesiastics. Dragging down the Protestant Establishment will not equalise the tastes, habits, and pursuits of the rival ecclesiastics. Carry out the principle "Equality of rights, and *not* equality of privation." The Catholic ecclesiastics must be raised, and not the Protestants reduced.

If the Irish Priests had a higher ambition than to become the terror of all the Tories in their neighbourhood, and the bullies of all moderate Catholics—then the monstrous abuse of a Catholic Church professing Jacobinical politics, would not be exhibited in Ireland. Give them an intellectual ambition. Foster the spirit of Literature in their order, and encourage their cultivation of the Sciences. Give them more noble objects of contention than to attain the noisy supremacy of parish dema-

gogues. Labour to make them more like the French than the Spanish Clergy.

Men sprung from the middle classes of society will not descend to the present system of accepting half crowns and shillings from the miserable people of Ireland. The lay Catholics of Ireland ought to come forward and establish voluntary vestries, which might assess the respectable parishioners. The chief resources of revenue to the working Clergy are the administration of ecclesiastical rites to the humbler classes. The people are taxed most unfairly, and the higher classes escape paying proportionate fees to their clergy. This system ought to be put an end to---it acts as a formidable barrier against men of refinement, respectability, and good breeding from entering the Church.

Maynooth, under proper regulations, must be more generously endowed. Professorships of a high character should be established there. If you want to purify the Irish Catholic Church, begin at the fountain head. At present the students learn little more than theology, and the crudest system of Philosophy. Let them receive a Liberal and mind-awakening education. There is as much difference between a

good and bad species of Catholicism, as between a good and bad religion. If the religion were well taught in the spirit worthy of an intellectual age, the creed would not suffer, and the Church would be considerably improved. But what can be expected from an institution, whose Theological Professors are paid at the rate of one hundred and twenty-two pounds *per annum*, and of which the President, having to superintend the education of four hundred candidates for Holy Orders, receives the beggarly stipend of three hundred a-year?*

If the Education of Maynooth were thoroughly reformed, almost as much good would be done, as if the Catholic Clergy were attached by payment to the State. The public have been kept a good deal in the dark about this

* In the number of the Dublin Review for May 1843, a writer (announced by the Dublin Papers as a Maynooth Professor) fiercely attacks the Edinburgh Review with blind fury. Part of the article on "Ignatius Loyola" he condemns as "an intolerable farrago of blasphemy, absurdity, and contradiction!!" He raises the savage warwhoop of Infidelity against a generous writer who heartily appreciated whatever was good or beautiful in the Catholic Religion. He supposes Mr. Macaulay to be the writer of the article on Loyola, the Maynooth Professor not having sufficient acumen to distinguish between two different styles, with characteristic peculiarities.

establishment, in consequence of the disgusting charges made against it, by a certain set of Protestant incendiaries. Those charges of teaching indecency are untenable. If the Priests are taught indelicacy at Maynooth, they must certainly be a most extraordinary body of men, for their bitterest enemies cannot fasten upon them the charges of licentious habits, or lewd propensities. They are themselves remarkable for purity of lives, and their flocks cannot be condemned as prone to immoral indulgences. So far from being lax in their morals, the Priests are more liable to the charge of fanatical austerity. For example, it is a practice in country parishes to denounce from the altar a young man who has a mistress. The peasant and the gentleman are in this matter treated with a like rigour. To be "shewn up" on a Sunday morning before an immense congregation is a most formidable punishment, and men who were themselves obnoxious to the charge of immorality would not dare have recourse to such measures.

The testimony offered here will be supported by all who know Ireland, and a profound sense of the gross injustice of the Exeter Hall charges against the Priests, has blinded the

liberal portion of the public to the real state of Maynooth, which is quite unworthy of its professed purpose—the education of Catholic Ecclesiastics in an age of civilisation and general enlightenment. In every department, save that of the Church, the rising abilities of the Celtic and Catholic Irish have been manifest. In Oratory and Rhetoric—accomplishments so highly prized in Ireland—the Irish Catholic Church has not produced a single pulpit orator whose sermons, if printed, would repay perusal. It is easier to rear noisy agitators than a race of men, profound in thought, and of versatile moral energies.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## FATHER MATHEW BEFORE HE WAS FAMOUS.

"For his word was with power."
LUKE, 4, 32.

THERE is a small Capuchin Friary in the City of Cork, in an obscure place called Blackamoors Lane. It possesses some historic interest from the fact that it was built by Arthur O'Leary,* after whom it was for many years called "Father O'Leary's Chapel." It is a small building, exceedingly plain outside, though it is neat within, and fitted up with some taste. It is situated in a very poor and neglected neighbourhood, where poverty and wretchedness abound. Nearly thirty years since a young Capuchin joined the mission attached to this chapel. In appearance, as well as reality, he was very youthful, and he

* VIDE "Life of Arthur O'Leary, by Rev. T. R. England," a work, reflecting credit on its pious and liberal author, a worthy brother of the late Bishop of Charleston. Catholic Literature is indebted to the pens of both brothers.

was strikingly handsome. About the middle stature, active and well formed in his body, with a comely and ingratiating presence, his countenance, in which natural courtesy and religious feeling strove for predominance, was the index of his disposition. He had a manly complexion.—eyes, large, bright, and sweet in expression—a slightly curved nose, and rounded cheeks, with black hair. In the words of Massinger—

"——— the fair outside
Was but the cover of a fairer mind."

To great suavity of manners, which was a prominent characteristic in his deportment, he joined dignity of carriage, and a composed serenity of mind. A steady, self control presided over all his acts and emotions. A cordial politeness, and unvarying affability distinguished him. To the higher classes, he was exceedingly respectful, and was always considered by them as one of their order—to the poor he was so gentle in his bearing, and so patient of their little requests and petitions—so earnest in pleading their cause, and what was better than kind words or noble speeches, so practically useful and humane, that they also (the more Christian compliment) regarded him as one of themselves.

This handsome, courteous, and popular young Friar, was a stranger in Cork. Born at Thomastown, on the 10th October, 1790, near Cashel, in the County of Tipperary, THEOBALD MATHEW was left an orphan at an early age. His father, James Mathew, of Thomastown, son of James Mathew, of Two-Mile-Borris, near Thurles, having lost his parents when a child, was taken under the care and patronage of the well known Major General Montagu Mathew, brother of the Earl of Llandaff. Mr. James Mathew, the younger, married a daughter of George Whyte, Esq., of Cappawhyte, who was married to a niece of the celebrated Mr. Mathew, mentioned in Sheridan's life of Swift.*

* He was a gentleman of princely hospitality, and resided at Thomastown Castle. It was his whim to have his mansion fitted up as a hotel, and the guests might do as they pleased, as he seldom headed his own table, but behaved as one of the company. There were forty bed-rooms—a large coffee-room, with a Bar and waiters—a detached tavern for the votaries of Bacchus. There was a daily ordinary, at which the guests might assemble, if they did not dine in private. There were two Billiard Tables; fishing-tackle, guns, &c.; buckhounds, foxhounds, and harriers, and twenty choice hunters in the stable. There was also a bowling-green on the demesne. Swift was so delighted with the place, that instead of a fortnight, he remained there four months.

Mr. Mathew had a large family, all of whom were remarkable for beauty of appearance, grace of manner, and energy of character. Mr. Charles Mathew, brother of the Apostle of Temperance, acquired a large fortune, and is a gentleman highly respected in the City of Cork, near which he resides at a very handsome seat. Two other brothers became eminent distillers at Cashel.

"When Mr. Mathew lost his parents he was adopted by the late Lady Elizabeth Mathew, who placed him under the tuition of the Reverend Denis O'Donnell, parish priest of Tallagh in the County of Waterford. At thirteen years of age, he was sent to the lay Academy of Kilkenny, where he became a great favorite of the Rev. Patrick Magrath, the head of that establishment. After having remained there for seven years, he was, by direction of the Most Rev. Dr. Bray, sent to Maynooth, where he pursued ecclesiastical studies for some time. Two aged Capuchin Friars induced him to become a member of their order, and he repaired with them to Kilkenny, where he remained until appointed to Cork. On Easter Sunday, in 1814, he was ordained in Dublin, by Dr. Murray, after having been for some time, under

the care of the Very Reverend Celestine Corcoran."*

At the period of his life when he first attracted attention in Cork, an observer might have classed him (except for his years) as one of that portion of the Irish Clergy, who were French by sympathy and education, and had imbibed their ideas of life under *la vieille cour.* The habitual polish of his manner (quite free from aristocratic *morgue*) indicated a man of refinement, accustomed to move in those circles where Elegance is worshipped as a minor deity. To the polish of his address, his early intimacy with persons distinguished for manner, may have contributed; but after all politeness with Mr. Mathew was a dictate of his heart, and attention to his solemn duties was never weakened by the discharge of the trivial homages, which the artificiality of society exacts from all its members. If he never shocked the social prejudices of the higher classes, neither did he ever cringe to them, nor dally with their vices, nor preach in glozing style, doctrines, palatable to their ears. On the other hand, in

* This extract is taken from a pamphlet of Rev. Mr. Bermingham.

his intercourse with the humble poor, he did not inflame their feelings of wrong to exasperation, or by bitter speeches, add fuel to their animosities. Yet it would be difficult to say with which extreme of society he was most popular. It is a curious fact that both claimed him as a clergyman after their desires, in itself a satisfactory proof that as he was not a courtier of the great, so neither was he an incendiary amongst the people. In a few years his Friary became the fashionable resort. Thither the devout *belle* went to enjoy Mass later by an hour than could be heard in any other chapel in Cork. The *crème* of the Catholic society might have been seen there. Mr. Mathew himself was always at the door to receive the visitors to his place of worship. But while his notice was eagerly sought by the rich and gay, no confessional was besieged by the poor with the same ardour as that where "our own Father Mathew" sat to rebuke vice, assuage grief, and console misery.

Possibly in the same space of time, no Catholic clergyman in Ireland has exerted so wide an influence in the confessional as Mr. Mathew has done. If the number of those who sought his counsel, be admitted as a test of his capa-

city, he must be admitted as the greatest of spiritual guides. But a more remarkable fact than the number of those who asked for his consolations, was the *character* of those who sought him as a confessor. This point demands a few words.

That man does not know Ireland, who is ignorant of the fact that several amongst the upper classes of the Irish Catholics do not avail themselves of the assistance, which their church affords to them in the Confessional. It is not necessary to examine the cause; it is enough to state the fact, which is incontrovertible. While the humble Irishman hastens to acknowledge his transgressions, oftentimes may be noted some Catholic gentleman, racked with the torture of an upbraiding conscience. Possibly he has lived much in the great world, and contracted most of its vices. He has lived perhaps in the creed, that

> " --------- 'tis time enough
> To whine and mortify thyself with penance,
> When the decaying sense is palled with pleasure,
> And weary nature tires in her last stage;
> Then weep and tell thy beads, when altr'ing rheums,
> Have stained the lustre of thy starry eyes,
> And failing palsies shake thy withered hand."

Yet though a rebel to his moral feelings, which

he has often violated, he has not lost his religious instincts. He is a sinner, but not a sceptic. The Faith which, when a tiny boy he learned at his mother's knee, keeps its mystic power over his mind, and now, after having exhausted sensation, wearied of the world in which he fluttered his existence, shrinking before the spectral terrors of his conscience—he quails "to meet the calm gaze of God." Believing implicitly in his Church, he turns from its ministers with aversion—

> "——————— a slow, still stream
> Of molten lead keeps dropping on his heart
> To scald and weigh it down,"

until at last, perchance on a sudden and horrid death-bed, groaning for a clergyman, stupified by horror, he tumbles unshriven to his grave.

Now, to the class of Catholics just described, Mr. Mathew has more frequently rendered religious assistance, than perhaps any ten clergymen in Ireland. For bringing back such minds to a calm and happy state he was singularly suited. The innate gentleness of his character, and the engaging tenderness of his manners, soothed the troubled spirit, while his guileless sympathy and earnest desire to discharge his

duty without offence, secured to him the unreserved confidence of those who would have scorned to bare their bosoms before coarse and unfeeling terrorists. The wonderful success of Father Mathew as a confessor of haughty minds, and consoler of proud, though broken hearts, may afford solemn matter for consideration to the Clergy. Never was there a more sincere Catholic in any age of the Church—never did any of the Saints more devoutly submit their understandings to the teaching of St. Peter's Chair, than did Mr. Mathew. No Clergyman in Ireland was less obnoxious to the charge of esotericism—to the imputation of believing less than he taught. Perfectly free from superstition, it was the character of his mind to favour the extreme of devotion, rather than incline to incredulity. The fact, however, is certain, that his success as a religious minister as far exceeded that of his reverend brethren in Cork, as his triumphant advocacy of Temperance has transcended the labours of all the Teetotallers in the Globe.

This is not the place to speculate on the probable cause of the great influence he obtained. Much of it is, undoubtedly, due to the moral ascendancy that he acquired

by the paramount individuality and original force of his character. Some of it is also due, to his having exhibited Religion in a more lovely aspect than that in which it is often presented to the mind. He delighted to dwell rather on the Good and the Fair than to descant on the Dark and Terrible. He laboured to bring souls to Heaven by the love of God, rather than rescue them from Hell by terror of the Devil. In short, judging by the course of his instructions, he might be pronounced a follower of Fenelon, rather than a pupil of Bossuet. Free from the mawkish cant of perfectability, he had a quick eye for the worth of humanity, as well as for its degeneracy. A thorough Catholic in his belief, he was eminently a Christian to all men, and Philosophy might seek in vain for sounder views of man's destiny, than those which inspired the feelings and ruled the purposes of this simple, affectionate, and philanthropic Friar.

It has been already remarked that he was the companion of the rich, and the idol of the poor amongst the Catholics of Cork, another feature must be pointed out as deserving commendation. His deportment towards Protestants was always manly, and invariably courteous. As

it was not in his nature to cringe or succumb, so neither was it in his disposition to be intolerant or rude. Mindful of the charities of society, he preserved his own dignity, while he acknowledged the legitimate claims of others to respect. His close intimacy with very many Protestants and Tories, from whom he necessarily differed widely on most of the questions that divide opinion, was strikingly characteristic of his disposition. The late Dr. St. Lawrence, Protestant Bishop of Cork, in handing him a subscription to his Poor School, said, "Well, Mr. Mathew, as I can't make these children Protestants, I have no doubt, but that *you* will make them good Catholics." In the leading seminary of the South of Ireland, established by Mr. Hamblin and Dr. Porter, who have done so much to raise the standard of education in Munster, Mr. Mathew was invited many years since to give instruction to the Catholic pupils. His discharge of that office was no less remarkable than many other labours of his life. He sedulously inculcated into the minds of his young hearers the great principles of charity and toleration of opinions. He sought to raise their minds above party feelings, and infused into their hearts a conciliа-

tory spirit. From few of his young hearers could the lessons taught them by that noble minded man be ever obliterated.

It is easy to gather from what has been said, that long before Teetotalism was heard of by the public, Mr. Mathew had become a *puissance* in the City of Cork. Such was the case. An idol of the poor, he had at the same time made the particular acquaintance of almost every Catholic family that had any social pretensions in Cork. Indeed, the number of his acquaintances was extraordinary, and his memory for persons may be called wonderful. He never passed the most casual acquaintance in the street, without speaking to him, and inquiring with singular precision and minuteness after the various members of his family. Schoolboys were often surprised when a friendly stranger would stop them in the streets to say, "How do you do, Master ——? I hope your Mamma and Papa are very well? Will you give them my compliments, my dear? Is your cousin, little Harry —— or Tommy —— still at Clongowes?* I hope his Papa enjoys his health? Well, my dear, I hope you're a good

* A Jesuit's College in Ireland.

boy, and attend to your school very well? That's right—give your heart to God, and there will be never any fear of you in this world, my dear little fellow.' And then if there was a confectioner or fruiterer's near at hand, he would give his little acquaintance some oranges or cakes, and dismiss him to trundle his hoop, or slash his top, wondering who the very kind gentleman could be, that knew all about him, and had treated him so generously? This habit of recognising and speaking to almost every one, was more remarkable from the precision with which he never confounded persons, or committed mistakes when making his family enquiries. His memory for faces, and his recollection of relationships, were quite *royal* in their way.

He kept aloof altogether from Politics. He has not been known to take any public part in political manifestations, nor did questions exclusively of that nature attract his attention in private. Judging by his personal character he is altogether unfitted for party warfare. He is far too conscientious to become a partizan, and he is too calm and considerate for the violence that political excitement necessarily produces.

In those days, before the advent of Teetotalism, Mr. Mathew was noticeable for many good religious works on a large scale when taken by themselves, although they necessarily dwindle in comparison with his onslaught against drunkenness. The Josephian Society was established and fostered under his patronage. It was composed principally of young men of a respectable station in life, and its object was the visitation of the sick. Its members went about in small parties, and by ministering to spiritual, as well as bodily wants, imparted no ordinary consolation to the forlorn and destitute subjects of sorrow and disease. They read and prayed by the bedside of the sick and dying—they afforded such help as their finances admitted to those that would have starved in their garrets but for their charitable assistance—they often brought under the eyes of the benevolent, cases of deserving though unfortunate families. The virtuous members of this society discharged all those duties, with the exception of nursing, which the Sisters of Charity undertake. They might be appropriately called Brothers of Charity. It is right to observe that the members were bound by no vow —that they were laymen engaged in the ordi-

nary avocations of life, distinguished from their neighbours, not by any ecclesiastical rank or discipline, but by greater piety, and zeal in the performance of good works. Whether Mr. Mathew was the originator of this admirable society is not ascertained; it is believed that he was, but it is absolutely certain that he was its presiding spirit; and that it maintained its existence chiefly through his steadfast support. He went about with the Josephians himself, and instructed them by his own powerful example in the best mode of administering the consolations that they sought to impart.

A female Poor School was also attached to his Friary. He was not satisfied with performing faithfully the functions of his clerical office, the education of children obtained his zealous attention. *There were three other Friaries in Cork on a far larger scale than that to which Mr. Mathew was attached*, but to none of them were united schools for the poor. He established one closely adjoining his chapel, and obtained the support of the *élite* of the Roman Catholic ladies who by turns discharged the duties of governesses.

His watchful regard for the interests of the poor did not rest here. Their decent interment

became an object of his care. Some years since the principal grave yards of Cork were connected entirely with Protestant churches. Unfortunately some offence was offered to the Catholic Clergy, on some occasions while praying over the dead. A suitable place of burial for Roman Catholics was much wanted, but none interested themselves in procuring it. A very large Botanical Garden lay to the South of Cork. It contained several acres, and was a circular piece of ground in the centre of which was a large enclosed garden, where the rarities of the collection were kept. This garden had formerly belonged to the Royal Cork Institution, which, after grants had been lavished on it, fell to the ground amidst the disgraceful indifference of the public. Mr. Mathew purchased it for a cemetery, and it now forms one of the "lions" of Cork. It is incomparably the handsomest burial ground in Ireland—it is on the largest scale, and is unequalled for the number and beauty of its monuments. Some of the wealthiest citizens have purchased ground there, and monumental obelisks, votive urns, and several tablets meet the eye in all directions. Cypresses, laurels, and flowering shrubs are tastefully planted at

intervals, and gravel walks traverse all parts of the enclosure. A very large space of ground has been appropriated to the poor.

The Roman Catholic Churches of Cork were very unworthy temples for so wealthy and religious a community. Nothing could be plainer even to meagreness, than the character of their external and internal architecture, and with the exception of the altars they were as unadorned as Dissenting Chapels. Besides they were not large enough for the thronging congregations that filled them. About ten years since a pretty general feeling arose amongst the Ecclesiastics of Cork that some effort should be made to obtain handsome edifices. Cork is divided by the Catholic Church into three enormous parishes. The Cathedral is situated in the Northern Division—it was built under the auspices of the Bishop, and cost a very large sum of money. Outside it is plain and vulgar; but inside, it is decorated profusely with carved wood-work of a mongrel Gothic character. It seems that the Bishop had also resolved to erect a chapel of ease at the eastern extremity of his Parish, where it was much wanted, and just at the same time, the Dominican Friars, residing in the same parish, had determined to ask the

aid of the citizens in helping them to build a spacious Church for their order. It was thought that the Catholics could not well afford to raise two new Churches at the same time, as in those days the citizens had heavy contributions to make to the Cholera funds, and the stirring political agitation consequent on the Reform Bill—the Repeal movement, and the Anti-Tithe crusade. While many doubted the judiciousness of the Bishop and the Dominicans, both appealing at the same time to the citizens, and suggested that the latter should give way to their superior, (which they resolutely declined), all the Catholics were startled by the announcement that Mr. Mathew also had resolved to commence a new chapel, for which pious persons had left him large donations, but for the erection of which he should require the liberal aid of the citizens! No better proof can be given of how much social influence he possessed than the statement of this simple fact. Before long three bodies of collectors vied with each other in soliciting aid for the three new chapels; one of which (the Bishop's) was in *King' Street*,—Mr. Mathew's

at the corner of *Queen Street*, and the Dominicans' on *Pope's Quay*—a singular conjunction of names.

Mr. Mathew's chapel is the only one of the three unfinished, but already more money has been expended on it, than upon the other two churches, which are very handsome and costly structures. It can hardly be finished under a sum of twenty thousand pounds. It is of hewn stone, in the pointed Gothic style, and will be the finest architectural ornament of Cork. It is an interesting fact that the only religious procession ever seen for an immense period in Cork was at the laying of the foundation stone of this edifice, a ceremony that was performed with great pomp, in which the City Members, and other leading persons took a prominent part.

Such was Father Mathew, before he became famous.

# CHAPTER XXII.

## THE PRESENT AGITATION.

"This distemper of remedy, grown habitual, relaxes and wears out, by a vulgar and prostituted use, the spring of that spirit which is to be exerted on great occasions. Hypocrisy, of course, delights in the most sublime speculations; for never intending to go beyond speculation, it costs nothing to have it magnificent."

BURKE.

THE progress of the present agitation for the Repeal of the Union has been very different from what its authors anticipated. The peasantry took fire more quickly, and to a greater extent than those persons desired, and the people will

most assuredly place the Agitators in a position that they never coveted. If the Agitators will not proceed further, every shred of popularity and reputation will be torn from them, and they will stand before Europe a body of ridiculous vapourers; if on the other hand, they resolve to act up to their promises, and "do or die," their fall will be more precipitate. In either case the downfall of "moral force agitation" is at hand.

There never was a greater absurdity than to suppose the movement to be a *bona fide* struggle to dissolve the Legislative Union. Abatement (or abolition) of rents, and not Repeal is the animating motive with the peasantry. To regain the popularity enjoyed in 1832 and 1833—to invest themselves with formidable power—to frighten the Aristocracy, and aid the Whigs in conquering the Tories—such are the real objects of the Corn Exchangers.

The Agitation is not a national movement, because the genuine moral force of Ireland is opposed to it. Not merely the rank and fortune, but the intellect and education of the country remain aloof. The Aristocracy and overwhelming majority of the Gentry—the Bar

of Ireland—and the profession of Medicine, are hostile to its avowed objects.

If it were really a national movement, would there be no expression of *the mind* of the country upon so exciting a subject as the independence of Ireland? In a land, celebrated for eloquence, would there be no successors and historical rivals to the Grattans—Floods—Hussey Burghs—Currans—and Plunkets of other days?

No subject is more inspiring than the regeneration of an oppressed country. No political cause produces a greater number of remarkable characters, than the genuine struggle for national liberty. But a mock contest for legislative independence can produce nothing but a dull and incessant clatter of the soulless machinery of the Corn Exchange.

Does O'Connell himself look like a genuine national leader? Are his speeches those of a man thoroughly in earnest—of one roused by a glorious occasion—*of one who believes in the mission which he has himself assumed?* Fancy the Grattan of 1782 standing upon Tara Hill, —with the theme O'Connell had to dilate upon, and you will then feel that the big Agitator, with all his popular talents, does not come up

to the stature of one who believed and resolved that he should be the leader in a great Revolution. You will then perceive that the Great Dan is a popular, and not a national leader—that he is more infuriated with the vulgar vehemence of agitation—than inspired with the honest consciousness of being a regenerator of Ireland.

O'Connell a regenerator! His statesmanship is that of a smuggler who thinks he can *run* an Irish Parliament, and discharge his contraband Legislature at College Green.

The agitation is half factitious, and half genuine. The peasantry in the rural districts believe in it, but the middle classes have no faith in it, although many of them joined in its furtherance. The common sense of Ireland perceives that "knowledge is power—thought is power, but *talk* is not power."

Amongst the most noticeable features in the present agitation, as distinguished from the excitement in 1833, (detailed in this volume) are—

1st. ALL THE PRIESTS, with a few inconsiderable exceptions, openly patronise the

movement. *But their support of it is much less hearty than is supposed.* They are too acute, not to perceive that Repeal is merely a speculative question, and that it is altogether impracticable. It is believed that those amongst them, who are ambitious of Episcopal rank, do not profess themselves Repealers, because they know that the Court of Rome is not anxious to have Repeal Bishops. It wishes to stand well with England, and would on fair conditions be ready to assist in mitigating the politics of the Irish Priesthood. Those who are Bishops already, are of course independent, and act with greater freedom.

The animating motive with the Priests is more religious than political, and certainly no one can blame them for feeling social uneasiness, while the Protestant Clergy are so much raised in rank above them. They joined in the movement at the request of O'Connell. "Dear Ray" was sent about the country last year, and got up a very good Rehearsal of the present Agitation.

2dly.—TEETOTALISM, by means of its bands and organization, greatly contributed to give it

an imposing appearance. The Temperance Houses are so many political reading-rooms, and by means of the Teetotal Clubs, a corporate character is imprinted on the masses. Father Mathew's earnest wishes and remonstrances have been disregarded. The " pledge" was to abstain from intoxicating drink, and not from Agitation.

3dly.—More intellectual ability has been displayed in the Press than in 1832. The Dublin paper, called the NATION, infused a spirit and life into the Agitation, which the tirades of O'Connellism would never have produced. The able young men who started that Journal have done much to raise the standard of popular reading in Ireland. Before its appearance, the Repeal Politics of Ireland were written with miserable insipidity and tameness. The commonplaces of O'Connell were merely re-echoed in the Dublin Journals, but the Nation displayed broad and original views of Irish public affairs, and by its conspicuous superiority to the other Repeal Prints, obtained an influence it richly merited, for its conductors are men of liberal accomplishments, as well as patriotic purposes.

4thly.—The Tenure Question has the same relation to the present movement, that Tithes had to the agitation of 1832. "Young Ireland," like "Young England," aspires after the speculative and ideal, but the peasantry are affected by palpable grievances.

5thly. The nature of the Tory opposition to the Melbourne Government has made the Whigs and Liberals affect a *nonchalance* with regard to the Repeal cry. They know that the dissolution of the Legislative Union is as unlikely as the Repeal of the Emancipation Act of 1829. They therefore demean themselves to the Corn Exchangers, just as the Conservative leaders did to the Protestant fanatics and incendiaries. The philippics against "Popery," suddenly ceased when Sir Robert Peel was called to power, though in point of fact the Roman Catholics were less formidable five years since than they are now. If the "No Popery" cry was silenced, when the Whigs were removed from office, why was it tolerated and winked at by the Conservative Opposition? If to raise that cry was offensive, its immediate cessation was scarcely less insulting to the Catholics.

Thus in the modern Party-Politics of Great Britain, "Repeal" is with the Whigs, what "No Popery" is with the Tories—a means of making a Ministry unpopular.

6thly. The absence of a Reform Agitation gives an appearance of unity to the present movement in Ireland, which the excitement of 1833 wanted. Extension of the Suffrage—Ballot, and the other formulæ of Radicalism have lost their significancy.

Nevertheless, the Agitation with all its noise, is not half so formidable as it has been represented, by the extremes of each side. It may be injurious to the harmony of private society, and may be very disagreeable to the Irish Protestant Gentry, but the English Chartist Agitation which commenced in 1838 was beyond all political proportion more formidable to the prosperity and existence of the British Empire. There is so much of *mock* in the present Irish agitation, that a British Statesman need not feel much alarm for the Union. If the Irish popular leaders intended to act, they would not procrastinate their hostility

indefinitely. No doubt they will cry "Only wait-a-while, and you'll see what we'll do against England"—but such talk is mere *fanfaronnade*, for if they meant to effect a revolution, they would not wait a while. When a political leader works with popular enthusiasm, it is worse than silly to adopt a Fabian policy; the tide must be taken at the flood, else he will be speedily left stranded, a helpless hull. And such will be the case with the talkers of the Corn Exchange, even supposing them to have serious intentions.

The number of lip-Repealers who have given the movement the sanction of their names is immense. A lip-Repealer is a man who may think that Repeal would be a very good thing for Ireland, *if* it could be obtained, *but who will accept no serious responsibility*, or do anything illegal to carry Repeal. Such is a lip-Repealer, and the whole Repeal Gentry may be comprised under that head. They are moral-forcemen —forsooth! They harangue with great valour, but what would they do? Or even what do they contemplate ever doing?

No! the present movement in Ireland is popular but not national. There may be con-

siderable confusion, but there will be no insurrection ; in the winter there will be several riots, but no rebellion : some murders, but no massacre.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## SIR ROBERT PEEL'S CONDUCT AND POSITION.

"From the loopholes of retreat at some important crisis, why should not we SEE history with the same impartiality that we read it?"

HORACE WALPOLE.

LET us for the time lay aside our party predilections, and consider Sir Robert Peel as an Imperial Minister.

It is said that he should have put down the present Irish agitation, either by force or concession. A dark cabal of disappointed Tories have censured him severely for not having had recourse to arbitrary measures. They cry "Why not issue proclamations? Why not make it treasonable to agitate Repeal?"

The history of Ireland, since the Union shews, that agitation thrives upon proclamation. The Duke of Northumberland, and the Marquis of Anglesey proclaimed down the Repeal Movement, but it gathered strength from their hostility. Agitation and a rebellion are very different things; the latter may be *put down*, but unless you prohibit the circulation of newspapers, and unless you compel men not to think and speak upon public questions, you cannot *put down* agitation.

If Sir Robert Peel had recourse to arbitrary measures, last summer, he would have done exactly what O'Connell wished. He would have made the Agitator appear an injured, and oppressed Patriot, He would not have silenced O'Connell, who would have raised the question in various shapes, and continued to excite the popular mind with his denunciations of the tyrant Governors. But the policy of the Premier has driven O'Connell to his last resources, who must now either desist from his agitation, and confess himself vanquished, or continue it until the people find out that his warlike words by no means correspond with his pacific intentions;—a third alternative of hav-

ing recourse to rebellion need not be anticipated from the Corn Exchangers.

Sir Robert Peel has acted on the supposition, that O'Connell is not a Cromwell, or even a Danton—that he is a daring agitator, a timorous rebel—that great as are his talents, his ambition is a very poor one, and that he is by no means covetous of the historic glory which waits upon a valiant though defeated hero. By letting O'Connell alone, he has reduced the reputation of the Agitator, and exposed the hollow character of the Repeal movement.

But, it is asked, ought a British Minister satisfy himself with outwitting a crafty and subtle Irish demagogue? Is that to be the whole object of the new policy of the Conservative leader?

This policy plainly demonstrates to Ireland the absurdity of looking for Repeal of the Union. Leaving the Corn Exchangers to do their best is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole Question. They bawl—they shout—and they assemble, but what can they *do?* Their extravagant self confidence will gradually vanish, when they find out their impotence, when they learn the wholesome truth that

"Knowledge is power—thought is power, but *talk* is not power."

There is a remarkable passage on Irish Government in the Strafford Correspondence, which contains the opinions of those who blame Sir Robert Peel for not employing arbitrary means. Strafford writes "The cure under God must be wrought by *one* Esculapius alone, and that in my weak judgment is to be effected rather by corrosives than lenitives; less than *Thorough* will not overcome it; there is a cancerous malignity in it which must be cut forth, which long since rejected all other means."

But Sir Robert Peel is no Straffordian, nor does he belong to what may be called the corrosive school of Toryism. He treats the Irish Repealers as entitled to the benefits of the British Constitution, and metes them out the same measure of liberty (or licence) that was conceded to the English Chartists. He reserves force until the Repealers are guilty of those outrages of the law, which, when committed by the Chartists, justified Lord John Russell in *putting down* that body.

But another party exclaim, "Why does not the Minister concede to Ireland?"

Concession is a question, not merely of *what* but *when*; it involves not only measures, but the proper time for bringing them forward. If Sir Robert Peel had introduced measures in the last Session, the cry would have been—"Ha! we have intimidated him." Concession in 1843 would have been a premium upon Agitation. So much for his past policy. But undoubtedly the policy which was right in 1843, will be very wrong, indeed, in 1844. Measures for Ireland will be expected at the hands of Sir Robert Peel, during the next Session. That such measures should be of a large and comprehensive character will be due not only to the Irish people, but also to his own fame as a British Statesman.

In proportion to his universally acknowledged power, so will be his disgrace if he neglect to carry Legislative Measures for the permanent improvement of the social condition of Ireland. That country, not by the mouths of the Agitators, but with the universal voice of all calm persons, cries for Legislation on the law of Landlord and Tenant. There *must* be Legislative interference. A British Minister must not act upon the *do nothing* policy next year. After having demonstrated that he

despises the Repeal Agitation, he is to show that he discerns the grievances of the Irish peasantry, and that he is prepared to remedy them.

Upon such a question no one person can give a complete plan. As in all other Reforms, so on the Tenure Question, the opinions of many should be compared and digested.*

With respect to the Church Question, it would be hard to expect that Sir Robert Peel should give up the Irish Church Establishment, when the Whigs themselves would not "concede" it to their Irish supporters. With regard to raising the social condition of the Irish Catholic Clergy, the *real* opinion of the Irish Catholics has not yet been ascertained. The Minister, as *yet*, has no means of knowing what are the genuine sentiments of the Catholic body. Discussion must be invited upon it, and the leading Catholics asked to speak plainly and without reserve. Many hints were dropped by Catholic Members during the debate on Mr. Smith O'Brien's, to the effect that an amelioration of the social condition of the Catholic Clergy would be extremely desirable. Heretofore this

* Some practical remarks will be made on the relations of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, in the Second Part of this Work.

question of elevating them in the social scale has been merely speculative, let its consideration be raised not only as a possible, but as a probable measure. Calmness and conciliation will effect much upon this important subject.

The policy of employing the People upon Railways, undertaken by Government, is a very doubtfnl one. It might, if carried out, temporarily not permanently, mitigate some portion of Irish distress, but it would encourage the bad habit of looking to the Government for improvements, which the country itself ought to effectuate, if they were really valuable.

Self reliance is a public virtue, much wanted in Ireland. Her people do not see how much might be done, if they exerted themselves, upon feasible and not visionary schemes of improvement. Upon the whole however, taking the anomalous character of Irish society into account, the arguments preponderate in favour of Government Railways.*

The Vice-Regal Establishment is an aggravating cause of Irish political disease. It produces a train of evils, of which the two greatest

* The opinion of the late Thomas Drummond should weigh much with any friend to Ireland.

are,—1st. That it gives a retrospective and anti-progressive habit to the Irish mind; and 2dly.—that it causes so much unnecessary squabble and personality in Irish politics. It withdraws public attention from principles, and fixes them upon persons. One could pardon this last evil, if it were attended by any compensating effect upon public measures, but such is not the case.

Whatever Ministry takes away the Lord Lieutenancy will do a very useful, but a most unpopular act. There will be a great outcry raised, and the Tory shopkeepers will for a time coalesce with the Repealers. Yet Dublin would be eventually improved by ceasing to be the seat of faction. If Science and Literature were cultivated in Dublin, as assiduously as they are in Edinburgh, the influx of strangers, and Irish provincial families anxious to educate their children, would amply compensate for the removal of a gingerbread imitation of royalty. Irish society would be improved in tone—manners—and accomplishments.

A Whig Ministry can take away the Irish Vice-Regal Establishment with much greater ease than a Tory one. Such an act would be in conformity with their principle of centralization.

Upon the whole Sir Robert Peel has done much by the moderation of his Government to expose the absurdity of the Repeal Question, and to place its promoters in difficulties. Let him legislate for Ireland in a comprehensive spirit; let him introduce the measures imperatively called for by its social state; let him invite and foster Irish public opinion, while he continues to disregard Irish agitation; let him turn a deaf ear to the selfishness and lust for dominion of a provincial oligarchy; let him continue to shew himself the Minister of the Constitution, and not the creature of a party; and though he may encounter obloquy from one side—opposition from another, and calumny from both, he will win the Fame to which he aspires, and deserve the character, which Burke has assigned to Walpole.

"The prudence—steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and politics, preserved THE BRITISH EMPIRE."

Although not concurring in Mr. Barry's Plan of Tenure Reform, the Author feels that many useful hints are offered in the following communication. The latter part of the paper is particularly worthy of perusal.

Mr. Barry is a gentleman of great intelligence and observation, and is intimately acquainted with the actual condition of the Farmers and Peasantry of Munster.

# APPENDIX.

## A PLAN OF TENURE REFORM FOR IRELAND.

BY STEPHEN BARRY, ESQUIRE, OF FERMOY.

"We would earnestly entreat those from whom opposition is most likely to come, to ponder well the issue—the inevitable issue of things remaining as they are."

THE TIMES (September 2d, 1843) on the Social State of Ireland.

WE IRISHMEN are generally charged with overstating our grievances, exaggerating facts, misrepresenting the commonest occurrences, and dealing as largely in Fiction, as the Law itself does. But the wrongs and injustice inflicted on the Irish Tenantry, are now brought before the public, by the English Press, with an ability

beyond our reach, and a degree of authority, which the same articles, if published in any of our Irish Journals could never command.

The grievances of a system of Rack Rent, and insecurity of Tenure being so fully admitted it would be a mere waste of time to offer any further evidence on the subject. How to check these evils effectively is now the question, and it is felt to be one of exceeding difficulty, by every person who takes a part in its discussion. A Government anxious to ensure safety for life and property should at once grapple with it, for though it may be very difficult it cannot be altogether impossible to provide against a neglect of moral and social duties on the part of private individuals, without infringing on the rights of property, and a terrible experience has shewn us that nothing short of Legislative interference, in some shape or other, will bring our Landed Proprietors to a sense of their responsibility. Many sound Political Economists thought that the enactment of a compulsory Poor Law would greatly ameliorate the condition of the Irish labourer, but as yet it has had but little effect in that way. The Act itself is too stringent, and it is administered by men whose long and habitual familiarity with scenes

of misery and degradation, of famine and disease, seems to have blunted their sympathies and hardened their hearts. The same spirit, which makes them as Landlords exact the full produce of the land in the shape of rent, until the Cottier Tenant is ruined, makes them as Poor Law Guardians refuse to recognise his right to relief when he has been cleared off the Land.

Mr. Nichols in his Report states, that "want of employment produces destitution—destitution, turbulence—turbulence, want of security—want of security, want of capital—and want of capital, in its turn, want of employment." and thus the circle goes on for ever.

I quote from the Times, which goes on to say—"But this it will be asserted, is only what every body knows. Everybody it will be said admits the destitution of Ireland—admits her poverty—admits that nothing can be done until it is remedied. Then if this be so, why, we ask, is this truth not acted upon? why do we still hear of Franchises, concessions and equal rights, when the real thing wanted is (not politics but) Food." To remedy this the "monster evil of Ireland," Mr. Stapleton, in a pamphlet

much praised by the Times, proposes that a grant of sixteen millions be given to promote employment, through public works, promising that the money may be so invested, as to secure permanent prosperity. That the money, if we could get it, would do much good and confer lasting benefits on the country, no one will deny, but in my humble judgment it would not strike at the root of the evil.

Ireland being so completely dependent on agriculture, I fear nothing can permanently improve the condition of the labouring classes, except they are rendered in some measure less dependent on the Landowners. Any real remedy for the monster grievance of want of employment, must break in on Mr. Nichol's circle, by giving security to the occupying Tenant. To do all this, so as to ensure the fulfilment of the duties of Property, without infringing on its rights, is what I am rash enough to propose submitting a plan for; but I undertake it with a conviction of its involving so many, and such mighty interests, that so far from expecting to lay down a perfect scheme, I will be quite satisfied if some of my crude ideas are found worth adoption by parties more

capable of hammering them into shape than I can hope to be. But while I am thus fully sensible of the difficulty of bringing out a well defined proposition, I am certain that any feasible reform will be peculiarly acceptable at the present moment.

Before I say what my scheme is, I beg leave to state that it is not fixity of tenure, to which I am strongly opposed, because it would necessarily prolong the existence of middlemen, who are in fact disappearing from the face of the country. I would ask, what benefit could it confer on the occupier, to be FIXED at the present Rack Rents, which they cannot possibly pay? Would it not be a fixity of misery and wretchedness, as well as of tenure; a fixity of inability to improve, a fixity of insolvency, in fact, a fixity of all we want to escape from. It may fix the unfortunate labourer in his miserable mud hovel, but could not give him a fixity of potato garden, the permission to till which confers no right of possession. It could only fix him in an "everlasting fix" of starvation, or the workhouse, if he was lucky enough to gain admission.

There shall be but one new feature in my

proposal—that is, there shall be but one portion of it, for which I cannot quote a precedent in some existing statute—and for that the machinery is in progress of completion, under an act of some standing, and the principle of it has been hinted at by more than one Member of Parliament, so that I have merely to show how it may be carried into effect.

The indispensable something, which all agree to be necessary, is, in my opinion, a well digested system of contract between Landlord and Tenant, based on justice, equally binding on both, and tending to their mutual benefit. With a veiw to suggesting some such adjustment, I proposed a set of resolutions, at a public meeting, held in the Court House of Fermoy last January, to the following effect:—

That it is the opinion of this meeting, that persons embarking their time, labour, and money in agricultural pursuits, should be rendered as independent as Manufacturing and Mercantile Capitalists.

That for this purpose a Law should be enacted, providing for the reimbursement of all sums, which any Tenant, holding from year to year, may expend in the substantial improve-

ment of his Tenement, in case of his eviction by the Landlord; and further, providing that the Tenant may at any time, on giving six months notice, surrender his Land, and recover by some simple process of Law, all the sums so expended by him in improvement.

That such outlay should be ascertainable by a Jury, in the Civil Bill Courts, and that certificates may be obtainable every year, of the annual outlay, from duly qualified officers, who should be authorized to summon before him on the Land, the parties interested, and that the certificate of such officer should be received as evidence of the amount and utility of the expenditure.

I now propose to go one step farther, by providing for the apportionment of sums expended on improving Lands held at a Rack Rent, on any tenure whatsoever, which brings me to a suggestion thrown out by Lord Stanley, in the debate on Mr. Smith O'Brien's motion, when his Lordship is reported to have said:—"The tenant is deterred from improvement by the uncertainty of his holding, and that uncertainty leads to agrarian outrage. Some arrangements for valuation between Landlord and Tenant may be introduced by law." His Lord-

ship when Mr. Stanley, and a whig, submitted a definition of Rack Rent, in a Grand Jury Bill brought in by him, (which I took the liberty of referring to once before, in a letter on the Poor Laws, recommending that the entire burden of the rate should be placed on the Landlords of all tenants at will, and of Lessees holding at Rack Rents, a suggestion that formed part of his Lordship's plan of adjusting the County Cess in 1831,) when he defined a Rack Rent to be, the rent reserved at any setting of land, if a fine equal to at least quadruple the amount of the annual rent was not paid. But I think his present proposition, if it may be so called, of a valuation, is more equitable, and I would suggest the adoption of the valuation, now being made in connection with the Ordnance Survey.

It is in progress under the 6th and 7th, William IV. cap. 84, which directs that Professional men should be employed to value all lands, as soon as the survey shall have been completed. When a County or Barony is valued, the Grand Jury are to appoint a committee of Appeal for each Barony, and a general committee of revision for the County at large. A scale of prices for agricultural pro-

duce, is laid down for the guidance of the valuators, the average of which may be taken at the figure allowed for wheat, say 25*s.* per bushel, of 20 stone, which we may fairly presume is not likely to be exceeded under the new Tariff. The right of appeal, and in some measure, the controlling power given to Grand Juries and Baronial Boards, affords the Aristocracy sufficient check over the valuation, to make it binding on them, without giving them any fair cause of complaint. This valuation, I would propose as the governing principle in all contracts between Landlord and Tenant, (whether now in existence, or hereafter to be made,) in the following manner.

1st. That all yearly rents, greater in amount than the annual value, fixed by the ordnance valuators, should be considered Rack Rents.

2nd. That all Rates, leviable on Land under the Grand Jury Acts, Poor Relief Act, or for any other public purpose whatsoever, be deducted from such Rent, provided the aggregate of such Rates, does not exceed in amount, the sum by which the Rent payable, shall exceed the net aunual value, ascertained as aforesaid.

3rd. That the Tenant, so holding at a Rack Rent, whether as Tenant at will, or under a

Lease, or other valid Instrument, be empowered to deduct from his immediate Landlord, the full value of any permanent and practically useful improvements he may make in his Tenement.

4th. That erecting or thoroughly repairing all requisite Farm Buildings, Fencing, Planting, thorough Draining, or Subsoil Ploughing, be considered as improvements within the meaning of the equitable contract system.

With respect to fences, I would suggest the introduction of a provision to ensure their being built of a certain breadth, sufficient to allow ash, oak, or elm trees to be planted in single rows along the top, and no allowance to be made except such trees were so planted, and very stringent covenants entered into for their preservation. The trees so planted and preserved to be the inalienable property of the Landlord, without any reservation of ploughboot or house boot to the Tenant so soon as he shall have claimed the allowance for fencing and planting.

5th. That an Inspector of improvements be appointed for each Poor Law Union, or such other divisional arrangement as may be found more suitable, who should personally examine all works for which an allowance may be claimed, within six months after their erection,

on receiving proper notice from the claimant. The Inspector to give notice of his intention to examine, to the Landlord, or his agent, and in default of their attendance, to proceed with his Inspection. The certificate of such officer to be evidence of the utility and value of the improvements made.

6th. To give appeal to Quarter Sessions.

7th. That in all cases of tenancy under lease, the liability of the Landlord should be limited to the sum, by which the rent reserved, may exceed the net annual value, which term I will use to denote the ordnance valuation.

8th. That in all cases of tenancy at will, the entire value of all improvements, as well as the aggregate amount of all rates, paid by the Tenant, may be deducted from the rent.

The attempts of the Legislature to place a proportion of Tithes and Poor Rates on the Landlords, having been frustrated, in very many instances, by an addition being made to the rents, or by a refusal in cases of tenancy at will, to make any allowance for rates paid by the occupier, it becomes necessary to devise some legal check, to this *rent expanding process*, which the landlord can screw up to any pitch he pleases, as long as the people cling to

the land as they do now, with the tenacity of despair, as the sole means of avoiding starvation. As agriculture is at present the only occupation for which the bulk of the people are fitted, it is only by improving *it*, that *their* condition can be mended. Before the farmer can afford his labourer better wages, he must have his land at a fair value, and be made to feel that the Landlord cannot step in and reap the harvest, grown from the sweat of his brows. For this purpose I would propose.

9th. That any Setting of Land, either now in existence, or hereafter to be made, for a rent exceeding in amount the net annual value of such holding, by more than twenty-five per cent, should be deemed and taken to be, a setting for one hundred and twenty-five pounds for every one hundred pounds value, and so in proportion for greater or lesser sums, and any covenant, clause, or agreement, contravening the policy of such equitable adjustment, to be utterly void, and of no avail.

That this would be a sweeping clause, as well as a proposition for which I can find no precedent, I freely admit. And I think it must be as freely granted, that the system sought to be reformed is vicious in the extreme, and one

not to be corrected by very gentle means. I will now proceed to show how far those measures would ultimately benefit the Landlord, for as the improvements progressed, I would propose that means should be afforded to the proprietor, to register them in such a way, as to raise the net annual value of his property as under—

Whenever certificates of improvement were tendered, which taken together would be equal in amount to one year's value of a tenement, the landlord may register the same with the Clerk of the Peace, or other officer, in whose custody the Ordnance Valuation may be, who should then thereon add, a certain per centage on the gross outlay, to the recorded value of the land. In this way, my Industrial Security Scheme would be found to work for the gradual, but steadily progressive improvement of property, at the expence of the property improved, every pound expended adding to its annual value.

With respect to Drainage, I believe several acts have been passed in England, to promote it in every way that is possible, and amongst others, by enabling owners of settled estates to borrow money for the purpose of improving

them. For Ireland, a Drainage Act was passed last year, under which a majority of persons interested, can compel an unwilling minority to contribute to the expenses of the general Drainage of a district; but as yet I have not heard of a single instance in which this very valuable measure has been taken advantage of. The act referred to is a most useful one for the general improvement of main drains, or outlets for large bodies of superfluous water, from such extensive districts as may require it, and in which many parties are interested. But there is a great field for operations on a smaller scale, where no general artificial outfalls are necessary, which would be very soon commenced, if individual occupiers had the security I propose to give them. Under-draining on good principles, would be set about in good earnest, the immediate effect of which must be the conversion into good land of thousands of acres, which are now comparatively waste, the tillage and improvement of which would create a large demand for labour. Men who are now half idle, and quarter fed, would then be at full work and amply fed, on produce that would never otherwise be grown.

My plan is one of detail, requiring no grand junction of capitalists, or large proprietors, and no amalgamation of jarring interests. It may be availed of by individuals, and would ensure to the occupier of twenty or thirty acres, remunerative employment for himself and family, and the holders of larger farms would find it much easier to pay a great portion of their Rack Rents, by keeping their farm servants and cottier labourers at full work, than by payments in hard cash. How many acres that are now growing rushes and feeding snipes, would be producing wheat, and fattening sheep, for the last ten years, if each tenant at will, who exists on them, could tender as a five pound note, when paying his rent, a certificate, that he had well and properly drained an acre of his boggy holding. It is a measure so simple as to be immediately understood, and it would soon work as a comprehensive system of national improvement, by creating such security as would insure employment which in its turn would create the security against turbulence, most effectually breaking Mr. Nichol's false circle, by creating security and employment. Then in proportion as the earnings of the labourer encreased, so would his consumption of

articles produced by tradesmen and artificers. In this way, a spur would be given to general industry; full employment in one department would soon put an end to idleness in any, and before long the necessary consequence would be, that division of labour in Ireland, which is the sure foundation of national wealth.

As regards building improvements, I am sure no Landlord could object to his Tenants bettering their condition in this way; indeed there is a very general anxiety on the part of Proprietors to encourage their Tenants in building good substantial houses.

If my suggestions under the head of Fencing were generally carried into effect, the appearance of the country would very soon be greatly changed for the better. Farmers and country gentlemen will, I am sure, agree with me in saying, that the formation of hedge rows would not alone improve our landscapes, but afford what is now felt to be a great want, namely shelter for cattle and crops. The general improvement of fences would in a great degree check the endless litigation that is now carried on at Petty Sessions Courts relative to trespass.

I will next proceed to show, that precedents,

in point of principle, may be quoted for many of my suggestions, though they may appear at the first glance to be wild innovations; and, perhaps, by some, they may be considered unwarrantable attacks on the right of Property.

One of the oldest provisions for ensuring to the Tenant the benefit of any improvement he may make, which I can recollect (I am writing where scarcely any Book of reference better than Outton's Index can be had) is to be found in the Acts for the encouragement of the planting and growth of Timber in Ireland, which I believe form a Code of Laws peculiar to this country. Under these Acts, a Tenant holding by Lease, for lives or years, may, by a certain course of Registration, ensure to himself or his Heirs, the full property in any Trees of his own planting, a right being reserved to the Landlord, to claim such Trees at the expiration of the Lease, on giving the full value, ascertainable by arbitration, for them. Tenants for Life, or in Tail, may create a personal property in growing Timber, against the remainderman, a provision which may be introduced into my equitable apportionment system, with good effect, and without rendering it over complicated. This Code was

originated as early as the Reign of William III, and was amended by several Statutes, passed since. One of them provides for giving the Tenant, who may inclose any coppice which may have been allowed to lie waste for five years, the right to any Timber which may grow in it, though not planted by such Tenant.

Another old Irish Act, empowered Ecclesiastical persons to make Leases of Bog, or Fenny grounds, for long periods, with a view to their improvement. As a further bonus to improvers, such Lands were to be free from Tithes and County Cess for given periods. Before the passing of the Tithe Composition Acts, any person, no matter what his Title may have been, who was about to reclaim Mountain Boggy Land, might have claimed exemption from Tithes.

Another Act of William III, for setting out mears of Land, provided, that where Lands were held in Fee Farm, Lives for Ever, or for a Term of years of which sixty may be unexpired, the charges of making such Fences should be borne in full by the Tenant. Tenants holding for three lives, or for years, twenty-one being unexpired, to pay half; in all other cases,

the necessary fences to be made at the sole charge of the landlord.

Under the 40, George III. cap. 71, another act relative to meers and fences, provision is made for tenants at will, deducting any sums they may be compelled to expend, in repairing or making fences, from their rents.

I conceive I have now clearly established my proposition, that the *principle* of compelling the landlord to pay a portion, and in some cases the entire expense of improving the land, has been long recognised by the law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, and that it has long been an object with the Legislature to ensure to the Tenant the benefit of his improvements.

The principle of the Landlords of tenants at will, paying all the expenses of necessary works is laid down in express terms so far back as the reign of George III.

I have also shown that encouragement was held out for the improvement of waste lands, even at the expense of the Church, by statutory exemption from Tithes.

Under the Tithe Composition Acts, it was provided—Goulburns act, 4, George IV. cap. 99—that leases at rack rents, should be made tithe free, and by the 1. and 2. Vic., cap. 109,

that in all cases of land demised at a rack rent, after the establishment of a composition, such rents should be reduced, to the extent of the reduction made in converting compositions for rent charge, and that the Lessee may deduct the amount of such reduction from his rent. Whether from a want of a legal definition of the term rack-rent, or from some other cause which I am not aware of, this clause has been, as far as I am informed, inoperative. I have referred to it here as establishing the principle of deductions from rack rents.

The deductions from the Landlord under the Poor Relief Act are made on the principle of Landlord and Tenant paying equal portions when their interest in the rated property is the same. That is, when the rent and the net annual value of the tenement are equal in amount, it is presumed the interests of Lessor or Lessee are alike, and the burden of relief is equally divided between them. But where the rent reserved, is greater in amount than the net annual value, the Landlord's proportion of the rate is increased until in many cases he is legally bound to allow the entire sum. The manner of doing it is to allow half the poundage rate, for every pound rent. For instance, a man holding a tenement

valued at ten pounds, paying twenty as rent, may deduct the entire Poor Rate from his Landlord. And there are many such cases, where the Landlords of tenants at will, treat the equitable provisions of the law as waste paper, some allowing only half, and others refusing to allow any portion of it whatsoever. One proprietor who refuses to make any allowance, in cases of Tenancy at will, is the owner of the largest estate in Munster.

My present object is to show, that whatever the practice may be, the spirit and the letter of the law place the burden of relief on those who ought to bear it, namely, on Landlords setting at rack rents, while I am proving at the same time, that the equitable provisions of the Legislature are practically set at nought, by the merciless and habitual "grinders of the poor man's face," to quote Scott's powerful expression. Such just provisions are binding on the good and kind Landlords, but men of a different stamp must be bound by more stringent enactments. Half measures are ineffectual with such people, and as they cannot be muzzled, I would propose to take out their fangs, which can only be done by firmly riveting the rack rent screw at a given point.

It is in fact the only measure which can unfetter the powers of the soil, which of itself would be conferring an incalculable benefit on a country with an encreasing population and diminishing means. A *ne plus ultra* exaction act, could in no way affect the men who set their lands for the value, and without it there can be no general security to industry, for no man of common prudence will invest his means —and the labour of a small farmer and his family constitutes in many cases his chief capital—in the improvement of property, without a reasonable prospect of reimbursement. It may be true that the security of the honor of such a princely Landlord as the Duke of Devonshire, under whom tenants at will are continued from generation to generation, is sufficient; but if my plan was fully carried into legislative operation, it would not compel his Grace to do as much, as he now does of his own free will, and as a necessary consequence his Tenantry are happy and industrious, well housed, comfortably clad, and half a century in advance of their class in knowledge and practical skill. I am convinced that I speak within the mark, when I say that one thousand acres of his Grace's property produced more human

food, than fifteen hundred of equal quality of Lord Kingston's in the same County. Much of the improvement on the Duke's property is owing to the untiring attention which the late Colonel Curry paid to the proper management of it, and his son, who succeeded him as agent, is acting on the same kind and wise principle.

It formed part of my plan when commencing this letter, to refer to the class of men who are principally employed as agents in Ireland, but the want of proper attention to this point, has been so ably exposed by various writers that I will but briefly allude to it here. They are very often Dublin or Cork attorneys, who know no more of agricultural management than the most ignorant cottier, who is handed over to their tender mercy, does of the legal technicalities by which he is declared an outlaw, (though he never handled a pike,) and the "Rebellion Ruffians" let loose like bloodhounds to scent out his last four-footed beast, which is soon eaten up by that most insatiable of all locusts—Law Costs. Instead of endeavouring to enrich the owners and the occupiers of the soil; they think only of enriching themselves, and their oppressions and exactions lead to half the

murders and atrocities that stain the character of Tipperary, and brutalize the feelings of the people all over the country. The surest way to humanize the people is to let them see that the executive power is felt everywhere, and when petty tyranny is effectually controlled, the obedience of the oppressed will be secured. A nation cannot be regenerated, old misrule corrected, and an equitable system already adopted by the wise and good, forced into general operation without encountering fierce opposition.

A constant demand for labour must, in the natural course of events, ensure the workmen fair wages, but as long as the Conacre System is continued, the cottier, that is the man who holds but a kitchen garden (in which to grow a few cabbages, and perhaps a quarter of a rood of early potatoes), with his cabin, must have some protection, and the lower we go in the scale, the more difficult it is to devise practicable reforms. It is very hard to tie up the hands of petty tyranny, but when it involves the happiness, almost the existence, of millions of the Queen's subjects, her Majesty's ministers ought at least to consider the possibility of doing it effectually.

The dealings between the farmer and his la-

bourers are generally carried on the following manner. At the 25th March, a setting of a cabin and kitchen garden is made for twelve months, at a rent, averaging about thirty-five shillings, and an agreement is entered into for an acre of ground to grow a crop of potatoes in; the ground to be ploughed and manured by the farmer. For this acre, statute measure, manured and ploughed, we may take the average charge to be five or six pounds, for the payment of which, together with his house rent, the cottier undertakes to work for the farmer, for (again taking an average), say sixpence a day, the employer generally covenanting to give continual employment, until the rent shall be paid. And on the quantity of this potato crop depends the question of starvation, or comparative comfort, of the labourer and his family for the ensuing winter and summer. If it is good, he and his have enough to eat, and he fattens a couple of pigs, with the profit on which he clothes his wife and children; if on the other hand, the crop is short, he is obliged to limit their daily meals to the smallest quantity, on which they can support existence, while the pig is barely kept alive on the offal, until Summer, when it must be sold, to prevent utter

starvation, a month or six weeks before the new crop comes round.

The quality and quantity of the yield, I need scarcely say, must, in ordinary seasons, depend on the ground being prepared in due time, and properly manured, *and more misery is caused by the farmers neglecting to do so, than by the breach of any other social duty in Ireland.* Potatoes planted late, even though they may grow to a good size in a favourable year, are never dry or sound food, they keep badly, and are as spungy as turnips. In bad seasons, the quantity is as short as the quality is bad. To remedy this apparently trifling, but in reality MONSTROUS EVIL, I would suggest a set of very stringent rules, relative to the periods at which the Conacre potato ground should be manured and ploughed, that is, I would bind the farmer to enable the labourer to till his garden in time. For this purpose I would have a scale of deductions framed, greatly reducing the rents, whenever material injury was likely to result from the farmer's default. Say, if ploughing was not completed on the 1st of May, a deduction of 5s. per cent, if delayed until the 12th, 10s., and two shillings a day after that. If the manure was not on the land, on or before the

1st of June, 5s. to be struck off, if not completed on the 8th, a penalty of 10s., to be inflicted from the 8th to the 25th, two shillings a day to be charged, after which the labourer renting the garden, should have the power to recover by Civil Bill, double the amount of the rent. That in all cases of potatoe garden ground, the Rent should be limited to quadruple the net annual value of the land, or five pounds, the option to be in the power of the farmer. That the house rent of such labourers should not exceed quadruple the net annual value of the land contained in his kitchen garden, which should not in any case be less than 20 perches, and never exceed half an acre, or one pound five shillings, the mode of charge to be optional with the person setting the house. I would further suggest that the liability of the crop grown in such Conacre ground, for the head rent should be limited; say to double the net annual value of the land. To show that some such limit is necessary, I will briefly state the leading facts of a case which occurred in this neighbourhood.

A respectable farmer got deeply into arrear; when every thing on his farm was distrained, and along with his own property a large

quantity of potatoes, then growing in ground which had been set by him to Conacre tenants, at the usual high rates, which according to the practice of the country, to pay such rents when the crop is fit for removal, were still due. The owners of the potatoes waited on the agent of the property, paid him the sums they owed, for which he passed receipts on account of rent, due by the farmer to the head landlord.

The poor people were then permitted to dig their potatoes; but when they commenced removing them off the land, they were prevented by the keepers, and in due time the entire were sold, though the unfortunate owners held the agent's receipts for the full sums they owed, but passed as for payments made on account of the rent due by the man from whom they took the land. This case, grievous as it appears, was tried in the Quarter Sessions Court, on Civil Bill actions, brought for the recovery of the sums paid by the Conacre holders to the agent; but the assistant Barrister (Mr. Martley), though his Court was one of equity, found himself compelled to dismiss the suits, but he stated from the Bench, that he did so with regret.

With respect to labourers' houses, a few Landlords have tried the experiment, when making

new settings, of giving them to the cottiers in possession, and binding the occupiers of the farms to build no others, thus making the mere labourers as independent of the farmers, as it is in the power of the head landlord to do. I will instance a case where this was done with good effect, which came under my own immediate observation, and where it was worked admirably. As this general setting, made at the same time (the year 1835 or 1836), of a townland, containing a large population, was made on a principle, which is I am sorry to say, very little practised, it ought to be made generally known. The lands in question belong to the Honourable Mr. Colley, the nephew of the late Lord Harberton, under whom they were held by one person, who let them at the full rack rent price, to a great number of under tenants. The term of the original setting was for three lives, one of which only was in existence for a great number of years, so that for a considerable period the expiration of the lease was naturally looked upon, as an event so likely to occur, that the tenure was not worth one year's purchase.

About three years before the Lease did actu-

ally expire, Mr. Trench, the brother-in-law and agent of Mr. Colley, visited the lands and took accurate notes of the actual state of each Holding, and he told the occupiers, that if they improved their tenements, or even did not impoverish them, Mr. Colley, if he survived the middle tenant, would not dispossess the tenants in possession, on reletting the land. When the new Settings were about to be made, proposals innumerable, and at very high rates, were made to Mr. Trench, who came to the neighbourhood to manage the affair for Mr. Colley. Mr Trench received every proposal that was tendered, but instead of setting to the highest bidder, he made an accurate valuation of the lands himself, called all the tenants together, and told them he would not pay the slightest attention to any of their offers. He then declared his intention, of fully redeeming his pledge to allow no middle man between Mr. Colley and the occupiers of his property, and announced the Rents at which he would set to every man his own Holding, and in every case the prices he required were considerably under his own offers; but when he began to develop his plan, for making every cottier, or cabin holder, the immediate tenant

of the head landlord, the farmers thought it very hard that the labourers should be rendered independent of them.

However, on this point the agent was inexorable, and he made sixteen families happy, by giving them their cabins and kitchen gardens, for which they were then subject to an average Rent of two pounds, at Rents varying, according to the size of the latter, from ten shillings to two and sixpence a year. When some of the men, who had enjoyed a Profit Rent out of these cabins, complained of losing it, Mr. Trench then told them, that Mr. Colley conceived that the population of the place was much too dense, and though he would not dispossess any one, he would willingly assist a large number of the inhabitants to Emigrate, if they wished to do so, for which purpose he would pay for the passage out of the entire family, if any of the landholders disliked the terms on which he offered them their Holdings, and give them orders, payable on their landing in any of the British Colonies, for two pounds for each father and mother of a family, and one pound for each child, an offer that was not accepted in a single instance. If any parties did leave their farms on these conditions, his plan was to give the

land to the person who had the best managed Lot near it. There is a striking improvement in the appearance of the cabins which were so let, as any person going from here to Cork can perceive, as the road runs through the Farm for a mile at the Fermoy side of Rathcormac.

It is now time to conclude these remarks which have run to much greater length than I anticipated, but before I do so, even at the risk of repetitions, I will venture on a short summing up of the leading features of my plan. In proposing an equitable and comprehensive adjustment of the rights of Landlord and Tenant, a third Party, namely the public should be considered, whose rights the State ought to assist. The Landlord has a long acknowledged right to a fair rent for his property. The Tenant has a right, not so well defined, to get the use and occupation of the land at such a price, and for such a term, as would fairly warrant his expending capital on, and devoting his time to its improvement, so as to develop its resources fully. The State has a right to interfere between the other two parties, so far as to ensure for the public good, the growth of the greatest possible quantity of human food.

In cases of Tenancy at Will, the tenant has

no security to do anything but plough, sow, and reap, the natural consequences of which is, the certain deterioration of the land most readily cultivated. Now as a very large proportion of the country—I am safe in saying two thirds of its whole area—is held on this Tenancy at Will, or no tenure system, which effectually prevents general improvement, while it also offers an insurmountable barrier to employment, and practically locks up the productive powers of the land, a strong case is made out, fully warranting the interference of the State. Let Statesmen then do so, by creating an Industrial Security Code, which will effectually free the resources of the country, from the impolitic drag chain, that is now hooked on her energies, by an unwise Aristocracy. Such a measure will tell with a double action on the labouring classes, creating employment for those who are idle, though anxious to work, and encreasing the production of human food, as the hungry man's means of purchasing it are multiplied. For this purpose, wherever drains may be obviously necessary, the State should authorize the occupier, whether tenant at will, or rack rent lessee, to make them, at the expense of the Landlord, such improvements being in

act for his benefit. It should also lay down the converse of this rule, and where tenants holding on long, but terminable leases, may neglect after due notice to make such improvements, the Landlord may enter and complete them, charging the expense against the tenant, by raising his rent. And whenever the State undertook this duty of umpirage between Landlord and Tenant, care should be taken, through proper officers, that all improvements should be executed substantially and in a workmanlike manner, for though the tenant's right would not by any means be perpetuated, yet as he should be guaranteed the full value of his labour, he should not be allowed to practise deceit by working up cheap materials in a slovenly way.

I promised to quote a precedent in principle at least, for giving the tenant security for the value of any improvements he may make, andI hope the Laws on Planting, Fencing, and Waste Land Culture, will be considered in point. The principle of making Landlords, setting at rack rents, liable to a portion, or the whole of public rates, is clearly laid down in the Tithe Composition Acts and Poor Law, and was proposed to the full extent which I would require, by Lord

Stanley in his County Cess Bill, in 1831. The taxation of property for its own improvement, against the consent of its owner, is now legalised by the Drainage Act, and has been long recognised in England under the laws of the Bedford Level.

The adoption of a well regulated valuation between Landlord and Tenant, has been broached by Lord Stanley, an extensive Irish Proprietor, and I merely propose to carry that suggestion into extensive operation, giving the benefit of its equitable provisions to the very poorest householder; with this single exception, and the saving clause, limiting the liability for head rent of the Conacre crop, my Plan contains no *principle* that is not already *partially* in operation.

THE END.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016